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ABSTRACT

Members of the target population that came in contact with the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) in Columbus, Ohio were studied. Virtually all were black and most were young males. Their employment histories fit the "hard-core unemployed" label, but their attitudes did not match this discouraged and alienated stereotype. Many were unemployed prior to CEP because they were unwilling to accept the menial jobs available to them. While attitudes toward the Columbus CEP were generally favorable, the effectiveness of the program was dependent primarily on the quality of jobs it could make available. The quality of jobs was defined mainly by the wages they paid. Actual and potential participants lost interest when they felt that CEP could not provide jobs that were any better than those they could get on their own. Retaining jobs following CEP was associated with receiving wage increases, being female, and being referred directly to jobs, rather than attending the orientation-to-work program. (Author)

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RECRUITING, PLACING, AND RETAINING THE HARD-TO-EMPLOY

A Study of Factors Influencing the Retention of Participants in a Concentrated Employment Program and in Their Subsequent Employment

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October 1971

Institute for Research on Human Resources
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University Park, Pennsylvania

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Institute for Research on Human Resources

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In the preparation of this report Elchanan Cohn had the major responsibility for Chapters 2, 3, and 9. David C. Gumpper developed the measures of work motivation used with the longitudinal sample and presented these results in Chapter 5. Regina Modreski and Robert Wieman assisted in the preparation of Chapters 4, 6, 7, and 8. David N. Hughes, who directed the data collection in Columbus, prepared Appendix A on the supervision of indigenous interviewers. The final draft benefited considerably from the editing of Nancy Clemson.

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Morgan V. Lewis
Project Director

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Chapter 1

MISSION OF THE CONCENTRATED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

On January 23, 1968, President Johnson sent his first message to Congress following his State of the Union address. In it he proposed "a $2.1 billion manpower program, the largest in the Nation's history, to help Americans who want to work get a job" (New York Times, January 4, 1968, p. 24). A basic component of that project was the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP), which was created to help those people who have been labeled "hard-core unemployed." The message described them as follows:

> These hard-core are America's forgotten men and women. Many of them have not worked for a long time. Some have never worked at all. Some have held only odd jobs. Many have been so discouraged by life that they have lost their sense of purpose.
>
> In the depression days of the 1930's, jobless men lined the streets of our cities seeking work. But today, the jobless are often hard to find. They are the invisible poor of our Nation.
>
> Last year I directed the Secretary of Labor to bring together in one unified effort all the various manpower and related programs which could help these people in the worst areas of some of our major cities and in the countryside.
>
> The Concentrated Employment Program was established for this purpose.
>
> As the unemployed were identified, the Concentrated Employment Program set up procedures for seeking them out, counseling them, providing them with health and education services, training them, all with the purpose of directing them into jobs or into the pipeline to employment. [New York Times, January 4, 1968, p. 24]

This message describes the essential rationale and function of CEP--an attempt to seek out and serve, in the most efficient manner possible, those members of society who do not take advantage of normal training and job placement opportunities. It also reveals certain basic assumptions as to why the hard-core unemployed do not avail themselves of such opportunities. First, it is assumed that they are out of contact with the mainstream of society, in a subculture of poverty which views the institutions and agencies of the larger society with skepticism, if not hostility. This skepticism is seen as the result of a series of failures in schools and jobs. After repeated failures, these individuals appear to give up; feeling that there is no place for them, they retreat into a marginal existence. They survive through public assistance, day labor, living with friends and relatives, and a variety of illegal and quasi-legal activities.

CEP thus emphasizes recruitment and support. Since it is assumed the hard-core do not seek training and jobs, the CEP seeks them out and tries to convince them that viable opportunities are available. After participants are persuaded to enroll in CEP, attempts are made to keep the level of support high. The primary agents for this support are coaches who maintain personal relationships with the participants. The coaches themselves are usually selected from the hard-core population. In addition, the typical CEP makes health, day care, and legal services available to participants in need of these kinds of assistance.

Despite the degree of support CEP attempts to provide, many potential participants who express an initial interest in the program fail to follow through on this interest; others, who enter the program, leave before CEP is able to find them a job. Even those who are successfully placed often do not retain their jobs for any appreciable length of time.

This study was conducted to examine the basic assumptions under which the CEP was organized, assumptions regarding the characteristics of the people served, the nature of the services they needed, and the labor market in which they sought jobs. It attempted to identify those factors in the people themselves, the nature of CEP, or the kinds of jobs that CEP could provide that distinguish between those for whom CEP provided successful experiences and those for whom it did not.

The major conclusion arising from the data collected in this study is that most of the young men who participated in the Columbus CEP were unemployed because they were unwilling to take the kinds of jobs that were normally available to them. There is a tendency among many people in this country to think that because millions are willing to work in unrewarding poverty-level jobs all the unemployed should also be willing to do so. An analysis of the Columbus labor market showed that while there were relatively few attractive jobs for which the typical CEP participant could qualify, there were many low-skill, low-paying ones. Many of those defined as hard-core unemployed in Columbus demonstrated by their unemployment that they were unwilling to take such jobs. In most cases this appeared to be a deliberate, conscious choice. The young men who were interviewed for this study knew they could get low level, dead-end jobs any time they wanted to. They simply did not care to work in such jobs, and there is no reason to believe that any amount of coaching, job guidance, or orientation programs could convince them that they should take such jobs. A CEP-type program, to be successful with the unemployed who have this attitude, would have to offer jobs paying at least the average wage for the local labor market.

This conclusion is based on the following main findings:

1. The perceived ability of CEP to provide "good" jobs appears to be the main source of its ability to attract and retain participants. Potential participants failed to enroll and active participants dropped out when they believed that CEP could not provide them with good jobs.

2. Many of the CEP participants had had limited exposure to different kinds of jobs, although they had held several of the low-level, dead-end type. As a result they had limited knowledge of occupations and undifferentiated vocational likes and dislikes. Pay, wage rate, appeared to be their main criterion for defining a job. A good job was one that paid approximately the average for production workers in the community.

3. The effects of CEP experiences on job retention were minor compared to personal characteristics reflected in such things as sex and assignment to the CEP orientation program. Females were employed more following CEP and the less "job ready" participants who went through two weeks of orientation were employed less.

4. Attitudinal reactions to the job--how much one liked his job or how he got along with his supervisor--were far less important to retention in the jobs that were most recently held than the pay one received and the opportunity to make more money by working more hours.

These findings indicate that the success of a program such as the Columbus CEP, which was directed primarily to young unemployed males, is directly dependent on the degree to which the program can provide jobs that are better than those its participants could get on their own. The meaning of the word "success" that is implied in the preceding sentence is the placement of program participants in jobs offering stable employment. In the rationale of CEP, assisting the hard-core unemployed to move from a marginal existence to full participation in the economy was seen as requiring a series of progressive steps, each with its own set of barriers. Once prospective participants were identified and interested in the project, what caused some to lose interest before they enrolled? If they were interested enough to enroll and begin participation, what caused some to withdraw before completing the program? If they did complete CEP, what effect did this have on their employability immediately after the program? And what effect did CEP have on long-term retention? This report addresses all of the above questions, and the definitions of success were derived from them. The first level of success was defined as securing the active participation of potential enrollees, the second as retaining participants in the program, the third as placing a participant on a job, and the fourth as retention in a job.

Organization of the Report. The data collected and analyses conducted to test these definitions are the subject of the separate chapters of this report. The remainder of this chapter previews the results discussed in the following chapters and briefly describes the study city, Columbus, Ohio, and the objectives and operations of its CEP. It also outlines the data collection, including the criteria used to select samples of respondents and the completion rates that were achieved.

A framework and perspective for the report is provided in Chapter 2, which reviews pertinent studies related to poverty and programs that have been suggested to combat it. Many of the features and operations of CEP reflect basic assumptions about the hard-core unemployed. These assumptions are explicitly stated and examined in the light of available knowledge in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 examines Columbus, Ohio, as the labor market in which the CEP functioned. It reveals a diversified and prosperous economy with very low unemployment during the period covered by the study.

Chapter 4 considers the characteristics and job goals of respondents who took part in the study, particularly those potential participants who never actually enrolled in CEP. These respondents are shown to be very similar to the enrollees with respect to major demographic characteristics, aspirations, and general outlook on life. On questions designed to assess if the hard-core unemployed fit the discouraged, alienated stereotype which has become associated with them, responses suggest that if they were not exactly happy with their lives, neither did they consider their situations hopeless. Their major dissatisfaction stemmed from their poverty--they lacked things they wanted. Employment was found to be strongly associated with overall outlook; respondents who were employed when interviewed were definitely more optimistic than the unemployed.

Because the issue of work motivation among the hard-to-employ is the subject of so much debate, both scholarly and popular, a special effort was made to assess the attitudes toward work of the CEP participants. These attitudinal measures provided estimates of individual differences in evaluation of work. The analyses of these data, which are discussed in Chapter 5, showed that the attitudes toward work among the CEP participants were practically identical to the attitudes in the other groups that were studied.

Data are also presented for a subsample that was studied more intensively and longitudinally at CEP intake, post-program, and follow-up. Several techniques were used to assess the attitudes of these respondents toward work. The most widely used, and apparently the most sensitive, was a card sort of forty attitudinal items. Analyses of the patterns of these sorts indicated that, in general, the participants had fairly positive attitudes toward work, but that there was not a great deal of ego-involvement in these attitudes. In other words, their attitudes toward work were not essential elements in their concepts of who and what they were. It was also found that dropping out of CEP was associated with movement toward more negative attitudes about work. Measures of attitude toward work obtained at CEP enrollment were not, however, associated with completion of CEP, or with subsequent employment.

Reactions of the participants to their experiences in the CEP program are examined in Chapter 6. The overall impression that CEP seemed to create was favorable; even potential participants who decided not to take part were usually positive about the program and the way they were treated by the staff. The major factor that seemed to separate the potential participants from the actual participants was their evaluation of what they felt CEP could do for them. The potential participants were decidedly more pessimistic about the ability of CEP to provide jobs that were any better than what they could get on their own. It also appears that it was the inability of the CEP to satisfy the job desires of some of its regular participants that caused them to drop out. The dropouts were more willing than the potential participants to give CEP a try, but when the program was slow in providing the jobs or training they wanted, they left.

If CEP was not able to satisfy the job desires of the potential participants and the dropouts, it would seem likely that they would have higher aspirations than those who completed the program. This, however, was not the case. The patterns of job desires in the three groups were quite similar, and, if anything, those of the completers seemed somewhat higher. Moreover, when they initially visited CEP over one-half of the potential participants and two-thirds of the dropouts did not specify particular job preferences. Thus, although they were dissatisfied with what CEP could provide, most were uncertain as to what they wanted other than "good" jobs.

This lack of vocational values and goals among the hard-core population was evident in the answers to several questions about job experiences and job aspirations. Such lack of direction naturally makes the task of CEP much more difficult. For undecided participants CEP must not only attempt to find suitable jobs or training, but must help the individuals define "suitable" for themselves.

The quality of jobs that CEP actually provided for its participants is discussed in Chapter 7. Quality is defined in terms of the participants' reactions to these jobs as measured by a set of rating scales. The reactions of the participants are compared to those of their co-workers who did not get their jobs through CEP, and to those of their supervisors. Although there was little agreement across groups in these evaluations, there was considerable agreement within groups across methods of measurement. This means that the different groups of respondents appeared to be applying different standards but were consistent in the standards they applied. On the average, the CEP participants did not rate their jobs very differently from the co-workers or the supervisors.

A factor analysis of these job climate ratings indicated that the basic attitudes underlying the separate measures were generally similar for both the participants and their co-workers. Among the differences, the most important concern perceptions of supervision and the rewards of work. The participants, especially those who were unemployed when interviewed, did not differentiate between supervisor support and supervisor pressure as their co-workers did. Nor did they relate their own efforts to the rewards received from a company in terms of pay, security, and chance for advancement. The co-workers were more likely to perceive their efforts as being related to their rewards.

Unfortunately, these interesting differences in attitudinal reactions to jobs were not found to be related to any of the measures of retention. Employed and unemployed respondents did rate their jobs differently on some aspects, especially on supervision. However, when the attitudinal measures were entered into a multiple regression analysis they had no significant relationship with the indices of retention. The information on post-CEP job experiences of the participants is presented in Chapter 8. Job experiences are analyzed from three different perspectives: (1) the first job after CEP, (2) the most recently held job (about which the attitudinal data were gathered), and (3) indices of all post-CEP jobs. Data from each of these perspectives were analyzed by the major classifications (usually completer-dropout, employed-unemployed, and placed by CEP-not placed) and multiple regression analyses were also performed.

The cross-tabulation analysis showed that soon after leaving CEP those who had completed the program were much more likely to be employed than the dropouts or potential participants who did not enroll. However, a multiple regression analysis of the probability of employment indicated that it was not simply whether the participant completed CEP, but the experiences he had while in CEP that was important. Respondents who were more likely to be employed were those who reported having regular coaches while in CEP, who did not reject jobs to which they were referred by CEP, and who felt they got from CEP what they wanted. Thus, while being in CEP was essential to having these experiences, CEP completion itself was not independently associated with increased probability of employment.

The analyses of total post-CEP employment (over a period of about ten months) revealed that the variables most consistently associated with job retention were sex and attendance in the CEP orientation program. Females were more likely to be employed than males, and participants who attended orientation were less likely. Since it was a deliberate CEP policy to have participants who were judged less employable attend orientation, their poorer employment record is not difficult to understand. The greater employment of females is open to many possible explanations.

Analysis of the factors related to retention in most recent jobs indicated that pay rates and hours of work (which reflect the opportunity to make money) were the significant variables. The sex of the respondents just failed to reach significance. It was in these analyses that the attitudinal measures were entered, and they failed to explain any significant proportion of the variance in retention. The strongest conclusion to be drawn from the data on job experiences is that the best way an employer can enhance the job retention of peripheral workers is to pay a moderate starting wage and provide fairly rapid increases.

In Chapter 9 the focus of the report shifts from the CEP participants to their employers. Data from interviews with the employers were used to construct four indices of the success that the employers had with CEP hires. These indices were analyzed by factors both external and internal to the hiring companies, by degree of commitment, and by the structure of the programs they conducted for CEP hires. As might be expected, companies that reported difficulty recruiting non-CEP workers also had problems retaining CEP hires. These were less desirable employers. Larger companies had better retention, but unionization was associated with poorer retention. Better job conditions seemed to enhance retention. Most of the employers did not conduct any special programs for CEP hires, nor did they change the nature of their jobs or standards on absenteeism, tardiness, or production. Where these standards were adjusted for CEP referrals, retention seems to have been poorer. Maintaining standards, but explaining them carefully to new hires, appears to be a better policy. Almost all employers adjusted their regular hiring criteria to accept CEP referrals.

Chapter 10 concludes the report, and in it an attempt is made to interrelate the results presented in the previous chapters and to draw some implications for the conduct of manpower programs such as CEP. Virtually all of the data gathered in the study point to the importance of jobs and pay, but not just any job and not just a minimum wage. The respondents knew they could get low-level, dead-end, poorly paid jobs anytime they wished; they wanted CEP to provide something better. The extent to which CEP was successful with its participants appears to be directly related to the degree it could provide more desirable jobs than those the participants could normally obtain.

THE STUDY CITY: COLUMBUS, OHIO

The data presented in this report were collected in one city, and no claim is made that these data are representative of any other city or any other CEP. It is hoped, however, that they permit an intensive examination of the variables affecting the success of CEP participants in this city.

The study was conducted in cooperation with the CEP in Columbus, Ohio, a city chosen because it met several criteria. The most important criterion was that the Columbus CEP was new, just beginning its operation. It was considered essential that this project be conducted in a new CEP. The methodology of the study was to contact the dropouts and the potential participants as soon as possible after they withdrew or failed to follow up their initial expression of interest. It was planned that through quick follow-up they would be interviewed while their experiences with CEP and reasons for withdrawing were clear in their minds. Another reason for choosing Columbus was its diversified industrial base and tight labor market. This market would tend to minimize factors external to the CEP which could influence its effectiveness. It was reasoned that with the tight market in Columbus those people who could obtain jobs in the traditional ways would be employed; those who remained should be truly hard-core unemployed. A third reason for choosing Columbus was the high concentration of its hard-core population, which was predominantly black. Although Columbus has no appreciable population of Puerto Ricans or Spanish-Americans, it does attract a sizable in-migration of rural whites from Kentucky and West Virginia. However, these people generally do not live on the near east side of Columbus, which is identified as a black neighborhood.

It is this near east side that was chosen as the target area for the Columbus CEP. Containing the Model City neighborhood, it includes five census tracts consisting of 2.56 square miles. The area is clearly demarcated. On its south and west it is bounded by limited access interstate highways; to the north there is an extensive complex of railroad tracks, and on the east railroad tracks and a large creek. Only the major streets cross these barriers. The secondary streets are blocked by the highways and tracks and contribute to a sense of isolation and confinement.

Characteristics of the CEP Target Area. To provide some understanding of the conditions in the CEP target area data available from published sources on the area are compared to data available for the whole city. Most of the comparisons are based on 1960 census figures and hence are quite dated.[1] They probably understate the degree of deterioration in the target area. Since 1960 there has been considerable interstate highway construction and some urban renewal in the area. Although some public housing has been constructed, the total effect has probably been a decrease in the number of housing units available. The general condition of the area, as reflected in the cleanliness of the streets, the condition of homes and yards, the number of abandoned stores, and similar signs, appears to have declined.

In these comparisons it should also be noted that the total city figures include the data for the CEP target area. If the target area data were removed from the city totals, the differences between the target area and the remainder of the city would be larger.

While land in the CEP area is only 2.2 percent of the total of the city, in January 1967 it contained 9.3 percent of the city's population. (The city's population was 573,280, the target area's 53,513.) This concentration is further reflected in the density of housing units per acre. In 1964 the city average was 3.13 units per acre; in the target area it was 10.60 units per acre. Thirty-five percent of the units in the target area were considered substandard, and 6.8 percent dilapidated, at the time of the 1960 census. Comparable figures for the total city were 20 percent substandard, 4.5 percent dilapidated.

Recent figures on the racial composition of the target area are not available, but it is known that the proportion of Negroes in all of Columbus rose from 16.6 percent in 1960 to 23 percent in 1965. Projections indicated that in 1970 Negroes would constitute 32 percent of the city's population.

Residents of the CEP target area have less education than their fellow citizens of Columbus. According to the 1960 census 17.2 percent of people 25 years of age and older had less than eight years of education; in the target area the percentage was 24.3. Such statistics, moreover, do not reflect possible differences in the quality of education in the poverty area. One indication of poorer quality is that the enrollment of persons 14 to 17 years of age is far lower in the CEP area than in the total community. This reflects the number of persons leaving school before graduation.

The data on unemployment and income also are dated but indicate the difference between the target area and the rest of the city. In 1960, when the unemployment rate for Columbus was 5.7 percent, in the target area it was nearly double, 10.5 percent. While the total unemployment rate declined in the Columbus area to less than 2.5 percent in 1969, it is clear that much higher rates were present in the CEP neighborhood. In 1960 25.9 percent of the family units in the target area had incomes below $3,000 and 7.8 percent had incomes below $1,000. The comparable figures for the city as a whole--which includes the CEP area--were 16 percent below $3,000 and 3.7 percent below $1,000.

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[1] Census tracts data for Columbus were not available for the 1970 census at the time this was written.

The figures on crime, health, and public assistance yield similar comparisons. Specific statistics will not be cited, but it can be said that the crime and delinquency rates in the CEP area are about twice as high as those for the city as a whole. The incidence of tuberculosis is about two and one-half times higher than the total city's while the infant death rate per 1,000 births is 60 percent higher. The CEP area has less than 10 percent of the city population under 21, but 45 percent of that population receives aid to families with dependent children (AFDC) compared to 7.6 percent in the whole city.

Many more similar statistics could be cited, but they would only belabor the obvious. The CEP target area is clearly a poverty neighborhood with residents who suffer from the multiple, interdependent problems that are both the cause and result of poverty. CEP was an attempt to deal with these multiple problems. It was based on the belief that the unemployed often need much more than just jobs; many also need medical care, basic education, instruction on how to use public transportation, day care for children, and, perhaps more than any of these, encouragement.

The Columbus CEP. The general rationale of the CEP program is discussed at greater length in Chapter 2 in the context of various proposals that have been advanced for combating poverty. At this point, however, it may be helpful to present some background on the Columbus CEP in which the study was conducted. The sponsor of the program was the Columbus Metropolitan Area Community Action Organization. The Columbus CEP set as its program objective:

> . . . a delivery system of manpower services designed to move 1,000 disadvantaged residents of the Model [Cities] Neighborhood through a planned sequence of pre-employment experiences that will lead them to full time, unsubsidized jobs that have potential for progress by December 31, 1969.
>
> High supportive services will be maintained by social agencies, counselors, coaches, and volunteer groups from the private sector, until the individual has obtained and adjusted to employment. [CEP Project Proposal, pp. 7-8]

The CEP set the following priorities on groups for entry into the program:

1. The young male between the ages of 16 to 25, high school dropout, police record, unemployed, or with a sporadic employment record.

> 2. The male in the same age range but with a record of underemployment, low labor market skills, with high school diploma.
>
> 3. The third group to receive consideration will be males 35 and over, low educational attainment, poor work records, prison records.
>
> 4. Female heads of households, low educational attainment, little or no work records in jobs with meaningful employment (adequate income producing). [CEP Project Proposal, pp. 8-9]

The CEP sought to find and serve these potential participants by relying heavily on coach-recruiters who were themselves drawn from the first group described above. The coach-recruiter was to maintain contact with the individual he originally recruited through all processing and orientation until that individual was placed in a regular job or training slot. Limitations of funds restricted the amount of follow-up the coach-recruiters were able to maintain after individuals were placed.

When a potential participant was recruited, he was either brought to the CEP office by the recruiter or an appointment was scheduled. At the office a preliminary briefing about the program was held each hour for applicants. The general nature of the program, the services it had available, and the training allowance were explained. Each applicant then met with a counselor who completed the forms and scheduled the individual for a physical examination and the General Aptitude Test Battery. In those cases where the counselor judged that the individual was job ready an attempt was made to find a suitable job from among the orders on file with CEP.

Applicants who were not considered job ready were scheduled for the two-week program of prevocational orientation. This program had a heavy emphasis on building self-confidence and self-esteem. Since almost all of the CEP participants were black, black history was a dominant theme. Job orientation--how to apply for a job, why employers insist on regular attendance, how to get along with a supervisor, etc.--was another major emphasis. Personal grooming and personal finance also were discussed, although as CEP progressed these received less emphasis. Basic education was available to all participants who were deficient in basic literacy skills.

During the orientation program most of the participants talked with an Employment Service counselor who discussed the results of their aptitude tests and tried to help the participants formulate some vocational goals and plans. If the individual's goals required training of a kind that was available through one of the CEP components, he would be enrolled in the program, or, if no slots were available, scheduled for future entry. The training slots were primarily in the following programs: Manpower Development and

Training (skilled and semiskilled occupations), New Careers (paraprofessional), Special Impact (on-the-job, construction skills), and Project Value (on-the-job, clerical skills). For those participants whose job needs were more pressing, placements in suitable jobs were sought.

Figure 2-1, located at the end of Chapter 2, is a flow chart that presents typical paths CEP participants may follow. The experiences of participants in the Columbus CEP were very similar to the paths shown in this chart.

DATA COLLECTION

There were actually two phases of data collection. The first focused on the experiences that participants and potential participants had when they came in contact with the Columbus CEP. These interviews were conducted as soon as possible after a participant left CEP, either through job or training placement or by dropping out. The second phase concerned the labor market experiences of the participants; interviews were conducted, on the average, nine to ten months after the participant left CEP.

Selection of Respondents for Program Phase

Because of the difference in emphasis of the two phases different criteria were used to select respondents. In the first phase three main groups of respondents were examined: "completers," "dropouts," and "ex antes." The completers were those individuals who enrolled in the CEP and successfully completed their program. Successful completion may mean that they were assessed, found "job ready" and placed in suitable jobs, or that they took the two-week prevocational orientation program and then were placed in jobs. It could also mean they were placed in training components, such as a Manpower Development and Training or Special Impact program. Actually, placement in such a component would not signify final success until the trainees were placed in jobs, but for the purpose of this report such placement was considered completion.[2]

A dropout was an individual who had enrolled and attended at least one day of the prevocational orientation classes and then withdrew at some later time before being placed in a job, or who had been placed in a training component and withdrew from it before he was interviewed. Attendance for at least one day of prevocational orientation was the crucial distinction between the dropouts and the third group, the "ex antes." The ex antes were defined as those who expressed an interest in CEP but never followed through on this interest. They included potential participants who expressed an interest to a recruiter but never visited the CEP offices, or who visited the offices but never attended the classes or were never placed in jobs. The term "ex ante" was selected to differentiate them from the dropouts who actually were involved in the program. Literally it refers to one who dropped out before the fact of actual involvement, or a pre-dropout.

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[2] In the follow-up phase of the study, participants who entered training components were excluded from the sample. The reasons for doing so are explained in the following section.

The ex antes were a particularly difficult group to identify and interview. Various monitoring systems were established in the CEP to identify the potential participants who never enrolled. One source was the appointment slips completed by recruiters for potential participants. The Penn State staff was notified whenever an appointment was not kept. Another source was potential participants who visited the CEP offices to see what the program was like and left without completing any forms. The names of these ex antes were obtained from a sign-in sheet which was kept for the Penn State staff by the CEP intake secretary. A third source was lists of referrals made by agencies such as the Employment Service or the neighborhood service centers of the Columbus Metropolitan Area Community Action Organization. A final source was the prospects who completed the initial forms but never attended prevocational orientation or were never placed in jobs.

It is clear that there was some arbitrariness in the definition of the ex antes, but this was inevitable. There were, for example, many women who visited the CEP offices but were told that CEP had nothing available for them. This was due to a specific policy to concentrate the training slots and jobs CEP had available on unemployed males. The goal of the program was to service three males for each female. These women were not considered ex antes because, in light of the CEP policy, they were never considered eligible for participation.

A total of 599 respondents were interviewed: 295 completers, 93 dropouts, and 211 ex antes. The respondents who actually participated in the CEP program, the completers and dropouts, total 388 and represent 78 percent of the 497 participants terminated by the Columbus CEP from its start in October 1968 through June 1969. An attempt was made to locate and interview all these terminations, but some were inaccessible because they had left town or were in prison. A small percentage refused to be interviewed, and approximately 10 percent could not be located. It is impossible to report completion rates for the ex ante interviews because the initial reference lists were so variable. There is no way of determining whether these lists reflect all individuals who expressed an interest in CEP. In addition, the monitoring systems to identify ex antes were not established until the end of February 1969. Approximately 80 percent of the people whose names were obtained from these systems were interviewed, but this figure does not mean 80 percent of all potential participants who expressed an interest, but did not enroll in CEP, were interviewed.

Selection of Respondents for Follow-up Phase

The objective of the follow-up phase of the study was to examine the job experiences of CEP participants. In this phase it was decided to limit the respondents to participants, both dropouts and completers, who went directly from CEP into the labor market. Many of the CEP participants were assigned to institutional training such as MDTA courses or New Careers and others were sent to formal on-the-job programs. The CEP participants who took such training had a much different preparation from those who were placed directly in jobs or who only attended the two-week orientation program. For this reason it was decided to eliminate those who went into formal training. To provide comparison groups against which to evaluate the experiences and reactions of the CEP participants, each one interviewed was asked to name a co-worker who did the same type of work but who had not gotten his job through CEP.[3] Each participant was also asked to name his direct supervisor.

Table 1-1 lists the number of interviews attempted with former participants and their co-workers, the number completed, and the reasons why others were not. Completion rates during the follow-up phase were far lower than during the program phase, but it must be realized that the follow-up interviews were conducted nine to ten months later. Completion rates among the co-workers were better than among the participants; unfortunately co-workers were identified for only half of the interviewed participants and one-quarter of these could not be interviewed.

It was even harder to get the names for direct supervisors than it was for co-workers: only 137 could be identified. From these 137, 123 (90%) questionnaires were obtained.

The final group of interviews in the follow-up phase was with employers of CEP participants. Attempts were made to interview 89 such employers, and 81 (91%) interviews were completed. Five of the companies contacted either never received authorization to participate in the interview from a higher corporate level or could not designate the proper persons to be interviewed. Three others were found to have gone out of business.

Use of Indigenous Interviewers

The difficulties encountered in locating the CEP participants for interviews were anticipated before the study began. The respondents who were to be interviewed were, first of all, extremely mobile. Many had

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[3] In preparing the data for analysis the lengths of the job history periods for co-workers were adjusted to be the same as those of their matching participants.

Table 1-1

Completion Rates for Follow-up Interviews

	Total Referrals	Interviews Completed	Not Completed--By Reason						
			Unable to Locate	Moved from City	In Jail	Refused	In Armed Forces	In Hospital	Dead-Other[c]
CEP Participants[a]	744	406	183	63	32	27	18	8	7
	%	54.6	24.6	8.5	4.2	3.6	2.4	1	0.9
Co-workers[b]	202	147	20	7	1	15	--	--	11
	%	72.7	9.9	3.5	0.5	7.4			5.4

[a] A CEP enrollee was eligible to be interviewed if he did not go from Orientation I or Orientation II to a component such as MDTA, Neighborhood Youth Corps, On-the-Job Training, New Careers, or Special Impact. Nominees were taken from termination records of the Central Records Unit of CEP for months 10/68 through 12/69.

[b] Includes persons nominated by CEP participants when interviewed or, where participants were unable to name co-workers, persons nominated by employers.

[c] For co-workers includes invalid referrals (people who had gone through CEP but were named as co-workers), and people who never worked with CEP participants.

no regular addresses in the sense of homes where they normally slept and spent the majority of their leisure time. They listed "regular" addresses, but these served more as message centers than as homes. Often when such people change addresses it is because of necessity, in an effort to elude people who are seeking to find them. A stranger looking for such a person is commonly regarded with considerable suspicion, and friends and former neighbors are very reluctant to offer any information.

Because of these considerations it was decided to use indigenous interviewers--those drawn from the same population they were to interview. The interviewers were, therefore, hard-core unemployed and were selected from the CEP intake. The decision to use these interviewers was probably the best one made in the conduct of the study. There were, of course, problems involved in using them, and they too had a great deal of difficulty in locating respondents. Production averaged a little less than one interview per day. They were ultimately able to interview almost 80 percent of the respondents they sought during the post-program interviews two weeks after termination and 55 percent during the follow-up (nine to ten months later). The interpersonal problems involved in supervising these interviewers continuously presented difficulties. Some of the problems that arose and techniques that were used to deal with them are discussed in Appendix A. This appendix also contains a discussion of the follow-up methods employed to track down the hard-to-locate.

The major technical problem connected with the use of indigenous interviewers was incomplete data. Although considerable effort was invested in making the interview schedule as simple as possible, certain features of the CEP and of the data to be gathered inevitably created complexity. Because the experiences of CEP participants could vary widely, the interview schedule had to allow for this variability. This necessitated a number of branching questions--subordinate questions which are asked only if specific answers are received to preceding questions. The schedule also instructed the interviewer to omit sections depending on a respondent's experiences. In addition, the schedule had several open-ended questions which were designed to obtain the participants' reactions to CEP in their own words. Many of the respondents, however, had difficulty expressing their reactions. In the early stages of data collection the interviewers frequently did not indicate on the schedule the reluctance or inability of the respondent to answer the question, and on these schedules it is impossible to know if the respondent failed to answer or the interviewer failed to ask the question. Thus the features of the schedule, combined with the inexperience of the interviewers, resulted in a significant proportion of answers that were not ascertained. As the study progressed the proportion of missing data dropped sharply.

In this report most of the tables referring to the post-program interviews report the not ascertained answers as a proportion of the total responses. This was considered the least misleading way of handling them. If they were eliminated from the tables, the remaining figures that would be reported would suggest a spurious degree of accuracy. For the follow-up interviews there were far fewer not ascertained answers, and they have usually been eliminated from the tables. In the multiple regression analysis, however, in which all the variables are intercorrelated, it was necessary to reduce the sample to those respondents for whom complete data were available.

SUMMARY

The present chapter sets forth an overview of the CEP and the assumptions underlying it. This study was designed to test how well the characteristics and experiences of the CEP participants fit these assumptions. The main results obtained by the study are previewed and the organization of the report described. Chapter 1 also contains a brief sketch of the target population in Columbus, Ohio, the study city. The data collection procedures employed in the study are outlined in a section which describes the criteria used to identify the various groups of respondents from whom interviews were obtained.

Chapter 2

THE CONCENTRATED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM IN PERSPECTIVE

Why should the government fund a Concentrated Employment Program (CEP)? This is the basic question examined in this chapter. As was noted in Chapter 1, CEP is directed to a specific group of poor people in society who have been labeled the "hard-core unemployed." The structure and operation of a CEP are based on certain observations and assumptions about the general characteristics of this group. In Chapter 2 these observations and assumptions are examined in the light of the relevant available literature. The difficulties involved in defining the poor and assessing the characteristics associated with poverty are considered along with the criteria for justification of public expenditure and the implications of various possible programs to combat poverty. Finally, the rationale of the CEP as a specific program is examined. This takes the form of five assumptions which seem implicit in the organization of CEP. The basis for these assumptions and their implications for the operation of CEP are discussed.

Counting the Poor

Who are the poor? What are their characteristics? Has the composition of the poor changed in recent years? Such questions must be answered if any meaningful programs to combat poverty are to be established. But it is quite obvious that poverty is a relative phenomenon. A poor person in the United States may not be regarded as such in India or China. Further, what is regarded as poverty today may not have been so regarded a few years back. Thus, the meaning of poverty depends upon the time and place. (Even within the United States at any given time, poverty may be defined differently in urban and rural areas.)

For practical purposes, poverty has been related traditionally to level of income. As long ago as 1883 the poor were considered to be "those members of society whose incomes fell below the established minimum" (Sumner, 1883). Many years later Galbraith (1958) cited $1,000 as the poverty line for annual family income. However, he prefers a method that would designate people as "poverty-stricken when their income, even if adequate for survival, falls markedly behind that of the community" (p. 251). This implies that at any given time a certain proportion of the population would be designated as poor--unless there were perfectly equal distribution of income (i.e., a straight-line "Lorenz Curve"). But if a certain proportion of the population, whose incomes fall x percent short of the mean, is always designated as being poor, the "war on poverty" will never be won. Therefore, a number of "poverty lines" or "poverty bands" have been proposed. Lampman (1959), for example, suggested the following definition of a "low income person": ". . . one with an income equivalent to that of a member of a four-person family with total money income of not more than $2,500 in 1957 dollars. Thus an unattached person would be classified as a low income person if he had income under $1,157; a member of a six-person family, if his family had income under $3,236" (p. 4).

In 1964 the Council of Economic Advisers (CEA) adopted a poverty line of $3,000 (Economic Report of the President, 1964). The rationale for choosing this figure hinged on the following criteria (Singell 1968):

1. one-third of family income being spent on food;
2. a family of four as a base (the average size in 1960 was 3.65); and
3. Department of Agriculture estimates of cost of minimally nutritional meals of 22.8 cents a meal per person.

On the basis of this definition it was shown that, using 1966 prices, 14.3 percent of the population were in poverty compared to 28.9 percent in 1947 (Singell, p. 36).

The CEA poverty line was strongly criticized by Miller (1966), Orshansky (1966), and others. One of the principal weaknesses of the CEA definition is that it uses a single measure of income as the poverty level for all families, regardless of size; such a measure is bound to underestimate the number of poor among prolific families and overestimate the number among small families. Secondly, the CEA definition fails to distinguish between urban and rural locations, even though it is generally agreed that families on the farm can live on smaller cash incomes than those in urban areas. Neither does the CEA definition account for differences in economic conditions in the various regions of the United States, or for the amount of assets owned by the family it designates as "poor." Ideally, budgets ought to be devised for each family on the basis of its needs--relative to its location, size, mental and physical health, condition of the dwelling unit and its ownership, and so on. Such a comprehensive study is, at present, infeasible; yet studies by Orshansky (1967) have improved a great deal on the CEA. A comprehensive summary of her work is provided in her report to the Joint Economic Committee:

> In 1965 the Social Security Administration developed two criteria to assay the relative economic well-being of different types of households in this country, and the lower of these two measures is being used as the current delineator of poverty for program planning. The implied level of living is that afforded by an income in 1966 of about $65 weekly for an average family of four not living on a farm (and correspondingly more for larger households, and less for smaller). The slightly less stringent measure, labeled "near poor," requires a third more in income, or about $20 more for a four-person family, than the amount of income at the poverty threshold. [p. 179]

Considering the lower measure, the difference between that measure and the one used by the CEA is reflected in the composition of the poor rather than in the total number of the poor. For example, the flat income of $3,000 results in the inclusion of far more old persons in poverty than does the Orshansky measure. Similarly, in Orshansky's computations there are many more children in poverty and fewer farm families than is the case when the CEA definition is used.

Over time, Orshansky finds that while the number of families designated as poor declined substantially in recent years (from 38.9 million Americans in 13.4 million households in 1959 to 29.7 million individuals in 1966), the number of "near poor" decreased only slightly--from 15.8 million in 1959 to 15.2 million in 1966.

As might be expected, certain groups are unable to share fully in the nation's prosperity. Orshansky thus attempts to isolate those groups most likely to be poor:

> Included among the 45 million Americans designated poor or near poor in 1966 were 18 to 28 per cent of the Nation's children and from 30 to 43 per cent of the aged--groups whose members could do little on their own to improve their income. Minorities, however defined, were less favored than the rest. Counted poor were nearly one in four of those living on farms, compared with one in seven of the nonfarm population, but most of the poor were not on a farm. The total with low incomes included from 12 to 19 per cent of the white population and from 41 to 54 per cent of the nonwhites. Of the total in poverty, however, two out of three were white and among the near poor four out of five were white.
>
> As might be expected, the family with the head currently employed was only one-fourth as likely to be poor as one with the head unemployed or out of the labor force. Yet every sixth poor family of two or more persons was that of a white man under age 65 who had worked every week in the year--the kind of family that has the best chance to escape poverty in our society. [p. 181]

While poverty has been considerably reduced since 1959, the poverty profile has also changed. "The decline in the number considered poor was largely a result of increased job opportunities and higher earnings. Those equipped to make the most of such possibilities fared best. By 1966, families of [women] with children, the aged, and the households of the disabled accounted for about 3 million of the 6 million families counted poor" (Orshansky, 1967, p. 186).

Orshansky points out that the poverty index employed to make the above comparisons "is a far from generous measure." The core of the index is based upon Department of Agriculture 1959 estimates that food cost merely 75 cents a day per person for the average family of four. Further, while incomes and prices rose after 1959, the poverty index was adjusted to allow only for changes in the price level. Hence those still designated as poor in 1966 were most likely a great deal poorer relative to the rest of the population than was the case in 1959. (Similar statements have also been made regarding the widening gap between affluent, advanced economies and the so-called developing countries.)

One of the most serious aspects of the change in the poverty profile concerns the number of children from disadvantaged families who are counted among the poor.

> All told, even in 1966, after a continued run of prosperity and steadily rising family incomes, one-fourth of the Nation's children were in families living in poverty or hovering just above the poverty line. . . . From 1959 to 1966 the proportion of all children under age 18 who were in a family headed by a woman rose from 9 to 11 per cent and in parallel fashion it was 1 in 3 of all poor children in 1966 who were minus a father, not 1 in 4 as in 1959. To make matters worse, the poverty rate among children in families headed by a woman was now 4-1/2 times as high as in families headed by a man; in 1959 it was only 3-1/3 times as high. [Orshansky, 1967, pp. 187-89]

Another important question is, what did the various public welfare programs do to alleviate poverty? Orshansky attempted to measure the contribution of such transfer payments to the reduction of poverty and concluded as follows:

> . . . all transfer payments combined succeeded in averting poverty for about 1 in 3 of young payee households--that is, households headed by a man or woman under age 65--whose total income from sources other than public income programs was below the poverty line, and about 1 in 2 aged households that would otherwise be poor. . . . Of households receiving assistance but below the poverty line to begin with, only 1 in 7 young ones were edged over the poverty line by their assistance checks, and barely 1 in 3 of the aged recipients. [p. 220]

Although the various assistance programs have helped to a considerable extent in reducing the number of families that would otherwise have been poor, "most of the poor receive no assistance from public programs." Further, while some are poor "because they cannot work, others are poor even though they do." Even some of those who do receive some sort of aid remain poor "because they have no resources but the limited payments provided under such programs." Finally, "public programs to help the poor are in the main geared to serve those who cannot work at all or are temporarily out of a job. The man who works for a living but is not making it will normally find no avenue of aid" (Orshansky, 1967, p. 189).

The number of families in poverty and their composition are important data for social policy designed to remedy poverty. But the number of the poor, by itself, does not indicate the severity of poverty. To illustrate, if a $3,000 income line is adopted, then both family A with a total income of $500 and family B with a total income of $2,900 are considered to be in poverty. Yet family A is poorer than family B. Further, suppose that social policy enables family A to rise from an annual income of $500 to $2,500 and that there is no change in family B's income. It follows that Orshansky's data may not reveal any positive change in the condition of the poor. To overcome this possibility, Lampman (1965) has suggested--in addition to the sheer number of poor persons and families--a measure of what he calls the "poverty income gap." He estimates that, in 1965, this poverty income gap amounted to about $12 billion. That is, other things equal, an expenditure of $12 billion by the government could bring all of the poor families to the poverty threshold. But, as Lampman notes, other things may not remain equal, necessitating an even larger expenditure by the government if the entire poverty gap is to be closed.

It may also be noted that although public assistance may not reduce substantially the number of the poor, it affects, to a considerable extent, the poverty income gap.[1]

THE CAUSES OF POVERTY

Because CEP attempts to alleviate the multiple causes of poverty, a thorough analysis of these "causes" is needed. But it must be emphasized that correlation between a given characteristic (such as race) and poverty does not necessarily imply causation. To illustrate, an individual may be ill because he is too poor to receive treatment; or he may be poor because of his illness. But it does not follow that illness is necessarily the cause of poverty; it may be the effect of poverty. Furthermore, it is not proper to analyze the effects of any one factor (such as illness) independently of other factors (such as the location of the individual's residence, his race, the quality of the home, etc.). The simultaneous effects of a complex set of factors on the problem of poverty must be assessed if we are to make sense at all. In other words, statements such as "one-third of the poor are from families with female heads" must be considered in light of the other socioeconomic characteristics of such families. The general usefulness of "association" studies (i.e., studies that attempt to disclose the likelihood that a family with a particular set of characteristics will be counted as poor) is not in question. It is necessary, however, to caution against taking these studies at face value.

Psychological Characteristics of the Poor

Much has been written about the poor or lower-class individual, and from this literature several "characteristics of the poor" could be listed.

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[1] For a detailed analysis of the benefits which the poor derive from the American system of transfer payments see Lampman (1966).

Much of the writing reviewed here, however, should be considered not as objective scientific description of a clearly defined group, but as a consensus of numerous sociologists about a poorly defined group on which little objective research has been done. Undoubtedly there is a great deal of recent and current research which is more rigorous.

Because of the lack of research there is a tendency to rely upon the theoretical literature and impressions of individuals who have had some contact with the poor.

> The enduring effects of social class (and poverty) on personality remain a controversial area with, as yet, far too little substantial evidence to justify even controversy. . . . Rich and textured class personality profiles have been drawn which, largely unsubstantiated, have resulted in some remarkably tenacious stereotypes. [Clausen and Williams, 1968, p. 168]

It should be kept in mind that while the sources mentioned do have something to contribute, the great majority of them should be thought of as containing ideas to be considered only until more data are available.

A list of the characteristics used to describe the poor would include alienation, powerlessness, belief in fate, insecurity, apathy, suspicion, lack of self-confidence, lack of initiative, inability or unwillingness to defer gratification, concern with toughness and masculinity, authoritarianism, low aspirations and expectations, low value given to education and employment, poor sense of time (present oriented), anti-intellectualism, and a greater concern with tradition than other groups. Some of these characteristics are attributed to the majority of the poor by almost all writers, and some are the subject of much dispute. Each takes on varying degrees of importance depending on the theory one holds about the development and transmission of these characteristics.

The Culture of Poverty or Individual Adaptation? One viewpoint on the development of values among the poor is that of the "culture of poverty." Oscar Lewis (1968), who first used the term, explained it as

> . . . a label for a specific conceptual model that describes in positive terms a subculture of Western Society with its own structure and rationale, a way of life handed on from generation to generation along family lines. The culture of poverty is not just a matter of deprivation or disorganization, a term signifying the absence of something. It is a culture in the traditional anthropological sense in that it provides human beings with a design for living, with a ready-made set of solutions for human problems, and so serves a significant adaptive function. [p. 406]

Lewis draws conclusions about the generality of this culture of poverty on the basis of his work in Mexico, Puerto Rico, and the United States, as well as from the limited literature on other concentrations of urban poor.

Though there are undoubtedly similarities in many aspects of the lives of the poor in all areas, there is considerable doubt about the benefit gained from the rigorous use of the concept of culture or subculture. The greatest problem with the concept of a culture of poverty is the question of the transmission of that culture. Roach and Gursslin (1967) point out that the transmission of a culture depends upon interaction of its members. This type of interaction does not exist on a large enough scale among the poor to support the idea of culturally transmitted values.

The major alternative approach to the subject of lower-class values is the widely accepted theory that these values are a natural response to the realities of the poor person's situation. There are many slight variations among those who accept this conceptual framework.

Gladwin (1967), for example, sees lower-class values or life styles as a response to the facts of being poor; discriminated against (for race, or for the lack of money); incompetent socially in a middle-class environment because of the uselessness of social skills that are appropriate in a slum environment; and powerless. Roach and Gursslin (1967) see material deprivation leading to social deprivation, eventually resulting in social-psychological inadequacies which show themselves as lower-class values or life styles.

This concept does not assume a conscious or organized attempt by members of the culture to pass values on to younger members, nor does it conflict with the idea that a parent may desire that his children have many values quite different from those held by the rest of the poor population. The lack of interaction among the poor is not important in this theory as it is in the culture of poverty theory. Those who speak of the culture of poverty can also explain these facts, but no explanation is necessary with the theory of similar individual environments.

Most important, the theory of individually learned adaptive values on the part of the poor explains some of the controversial and apparently contradictory findings on the poor--e.g., relating to the discrepancy between their stated values and their actual behavior. The culture of poverty concept usually assumes that the different values of the poor culture are accepted by the poor child; yet the poor individual will most often state middle-class values as his own, even when they do not correspond to his behavior.

Rodman (1965) suggests that while the poor do accept middle-class values their realistic situation leads them to tolerate or accept things that the middle-class does not. Miller, Riessman, and Seagull (1968), in relation to the value placed on delaying gratification, show in detail how very different behaviors can be exhibited by individuals with identical underlying values, because of the different meanings a given situation assumes, depending on the individual social and financial position.

The findings listed above are not necessarily critical of the culture of poverty theory. The values of a culture, for instance, do not have to be consciously accepted. That is, the culture might influence its members to consciously believe and verbally express middle-class values, while they are acting according to different, lower-class values.

Lewis (1968), in the definition of culture of poverty cited earlier, noted that the culture "serves a significant adaptive function." This means that as solutions are obtained to the unique problems of the cultural group called the poor, these solutions are passed on to their children, who face many of the same problems. The distinction between the cultural and individual explanations is blurred by the fact that those who support the individual adaptation viewpoint would accept the idea that a child could learn a pattern of behavior from an adult role model if that pattern of behavior helped him meet his needs.

The "individual" theorist emphasizes that the child must face the same problems as the father; the "culture" theorist stresses the idea that the solution (or value) is handed directly from one generation to the next. While the distinction between the two theories is largely one of emphasis, there is sufficient difference between them to lead to different predictions for the same situation.

The primary difference in expectations resulting from the difference in emphasis, as Gurin (1968) clearly points out, is that supporters of the culture view would expect that a change in environment would be less likely to cause an immediate change in the behavior of the members of the culture. A considerable amount of behavior which was functional in previous generations would be passed on even though it might no longer be functional.

Those supporting the individual adaptation viewpoint would more probably expect that children growing up in an environment substantially different from that of their parents would develop values appropriate to their environment, in spite of their parents. The individual adaptation theorist would also be more optimistic about the possibilities of changing behavior of people within a single generation by altering their environment.

Gurin goes on to show that in the project he conducted there was evidence that the individual adaptation approach best fit his data. The vast majority of the literature reviewed also supports this approach. It is possible, however, that this is due to the biases of the writers, particularly since few supporters of either position presented experimental evidence favoring their views. Although there is more evidence supporting the position that differences in behavior between the poor and the middle-class are due to the differences in achievement opportunities available to members of the two groups, no definite conclusion can be drawn at this time. The following sections will review some of the conditions which are thought to lead to differences between the poor and middle-class. Though they are stated from the point of view of individual adaptation to the environment (as they were in the sources cited), the reader should note that most of this material could easily be translated into terminology consistent with the culture of poverty theory.

Effects of Early Environment

The Failure Cycle. The poor child is raised in an environment which, compared to that of the middle-class child, is lacking in variety of visual, tactile, and auditory stimulation. Development of visual discrimination and tactile development are retarded. Although there is typically considerable noise in the lower-class environment, there is little direct communication and feedback involving the child. This may lead to the learning of the "skill" of inattention for the purpose of ignoring noise (Deutsch, 1965).

These conditions are not conducive to success of the child in the school situation, and frustration, apathy, and rebellion may result from his lack of success. According to a study conducted by Bloom, Davis, and Hess (1965), ratings of deprived children after first grade show marked decreases in initiative, concentration, responsiveness to adult teachers, and effectiveness of work habits. Thus, the psychological characteristics which cause the employment problems of the poor are evident even at the ages of six and seven. Liebow (1967) proposes that the continuous series of failures experienced by the poor are the cause of the characteristics which set the poor off from the middle-class. Failure in school gives the child a negative attitude toward school. This attitude, added to his other handicaps, leads him to drop completely out of school and enter the labor market, where his lack of education leaves him so handicapped that he is unable to support a family. This failure makes the family structure unstable since often the mother must provide the support, and the family may actually be better off financially if the father is not present.

Absence of Father. The effect of the absence of the father should be mentioned in more detail, since about one-third of poor, black families are headed by women (Batchelder, 1965) and virtually all the participants in the Columbus CEP were black. It is a very important consideration among many who theorize about the poor, and especially for those who consider the mother-centered household a major part of the culture of poverty.

Miller (1968) describes toughness as one of the six focal concerns of lower-class individuals. He states that the significant proportion of predominantly female households is probably the cause of this exaggerated emphasis on masculinity. Clark (1965) cites the serious overall effect on all Negroes of the distorted masculine image--with the mother-centered home as one cause of the distortion. Even in a different country, among the nonpoor it was found that boys showed significantly more compensatory masculinity when the father was absent from the home (Lynn and Sawrey, 1959). The absence of the father also showed itself in other aspects of the boys' personalities, particularly in maturity and peer relations. It is clear that when the father is absent from the home, the possible effect on the psychosexual development of the child may be quite serious.

Insecurity and Lack of Power. Insecurity has been suggested as another important factor in the development of characteristic attitudes of the poor. A number of studies have shown that, compared to the middle-class, the poor value stability and security more and chances for job advancement less. This value might exhibit itself as an inclination to stay on relief rather than risk a job or a training program that probably would not work out. When the fear of yet another failure is added to the desire for security, it might be expected that it would be very difficult to induce an underemployed or unemployed individual to take a chance on a new training program which cannot guarantee success, security, or even a job.

One other aspect of the life of the poor which might have a serious effect on personality, and therefore on employability and trainability, is their lack of power. It was the realization of the psychological importance of powerlessness for the poor which led the government to suggest that their "maximum feasible participation" in poverty programs should be allowed. As a general rule, this type of participation has not been allowed (Powledge, 1967), and powerlessness continues to be a significant problem of the poor. Haggstrom (1968) describes powerlessness as second in importance only to the actual material deprivation of poverty. He describes a "psychology of poverty" which consists of a concern with survival rather than social climbing, a lack of cooperation or organization within groups of the poor, little sense of the past or planning for the future, little ability to defer gratification, a feeling of helplessness, a sense of being exploited, suspicion and resentment of outsiders, and an attitude akin to fatalism.

The reasons for this psychological pattern are listed as (1) the belief that as society grows and prospers, power tends to go to those who have it; (2) being powerless, but having needs--leading to feelings of inferiority; (3) internalization by some individuals of the popular concept that the poor are themselves responsible for their own problems; and (4) internalization by some of the poor of society's stereotypes of them (as immoral, lazy, dirty, etc.).

Implications for Training Programs. It has already been stated that there appear to be differences in perceptual development among social classes. While the size of these differences decreases somewhat with age, language differences tend to increase (Deutsch, 1965). Beiser (1965), from the framework of Erikson's view of man's development, claims that the lack of social, perceptual, and language skills, the greater frequency of poor mental health, and the apathy and suspicion frequently found among the poor are due to a "generally unreliable atmosphere" in which there is a "lack of positive opportunities at a critical time." Gursslin and Roach (1964) carry such reasoning further and claim that the impaired intellectual functioning and conceptual abilities, inadequate verbal skills, and relative lack of structure in their cognitive processes--added to the unintegrated self system, low self-esteem, limited role repertory, and minimal motivation--all work against the possibility of training the unemployed poor for the type of job which is created as a result of automation. They contend that the only solution to the problem is a massive program of federally sponsored public works projects using the minimally skilled older adults. In addition to this, an extensive effort to improve the education of children from poor families would be needed to avoid the development of another generation of individuals with the handicaps listed. An important assumption is that the hard-core, or a majority of the unemployed poor, will not succeed in a competitive job market, or at least in the type of occupations which are increasing--those technical jobs created rather than eliminated by automation.

These arguments seem to have some validity. They suggest, for example, why many training programs in the past have had such poor records of retention and placement (Miller, Roby, Van Steenwijk, 1968). It has not been proven, however, that any part of the poor population is so lacking in job related skills that these deficiencies cannot be corrected by training. Asbell (1966) has pointed out the difficulty in applying the "critical periods" developmental hypothesis to human cognitive growth. Particularly after the first year of life, no optimal periods for intellectual growth have been demonstrated. Deficiencies might be irreversible, but only in the sense that an individual with a deficit might be less able to profit developmentally from new levels of stimulation in the environment. It should be possible, however, to compensate sufficiently for the deficit for an individual to be able to obtain and keep a reasonably good job.

Miller, Riessman, and Seagull (1968) point to additional flaws in the traditional descriptions of the poor. The evidence which shows the poor unable to delay gratification does not take into account a number of important considerations. Often there are differences among classes with respect to the probability of gaining future rewards as a result of deferring immediate gratification. The limited circumstances of the poor may also mean that greater objective suffering by the poor would be necessary to defer the same amount of gratification. These considerations clearly lead to the conclusion that research which simply compares the overt behavior of the poor and nonpoor may not produce valid data on differences in psychological characteristics.

The same reasoning may be used concerning the evidence on the apathy or lack of motivation of the poor. The poor child does not have the models--at home or elsewhere--which prepare him for the modern labor market. He does not see promotion as a reward for hard work or extra effort, think of work as having intrinsic importance, or hear talk which reflects favorably upon the work experience (Himes, 1965).

This does not necessarily mean that the poor and nonpoor have distinctly different attitudes toward work or motivation to work. Quite possibly the poor and nonpoor are thinking of very different types of jobs when they respond to questionnaires about "work." It may be that the types of jobs the majority of the unemployed poor can obtain have no intrinsic importance or interest, do not reward hard work with promotion, and do not increase the individual's ability to control his own fate. The supposed difference in motivation could in most cases be a result of difference in the realistic expectancies of the two groups.

The distinction made here is an important one. If the poor are not motivated against work itself, but against the types of jobs usually available to them, a program which trained individuals for meaningful, interesting jobs which paid well enough to support a family should be able to overcome the problem of motivation. Though rigorous experimental evidence is generally lacking, considerable anecdotal evidence (e.g., Asbell, 1966, and Gordon, undated) was found supporting the idea that motivational differences between classes vanish when sufficient financial or social incentives are given to the poor. It is interesting to note that the incentives in the examples, though not usually available to the poor, are common in the middle class. The sources which have been cited in an attempt to characterize differences in ability to defer gratification, and attitudes toward work and society, are open to a number of interpretations. It is unclear whether the poor are less able to defer gratification, or simply are not in a situation where deferring gratification would be profitable; whether the poor value work less than others, or are only eligible for jobs which no one values; whether the poor can validly be called suspicious and apathetic, or are simply realistic about society's treatment of them and their lack of power to change it.

Correlates of Poverty

It should be reemphasized that whatever our definition of poverty, we certainly associate poverty with the lack of income. This lack may stem from unemployment (i.e., the individual seeks employment in the labor market but, for one reason or another, cannot find any); underemployment (the individual is either only partially employed, or is employed in a job which is inferior to the type of work for which he is qualified); or the absence from active participation in the labor market (the individual is either incapable of qualifying for any existing jobs in the labor market, or is simply not seeking work). This section, therefore, shall relate the factors which presumably affect poverty to the basic phenomena of unemployment, underemployment, or labor force nonparticipation.

Discrimination. The existence of overt or covert discrimination on social, economic, and/or racial grounds may lead directly to unemployment, or withdrawal from the labor force, and hence to poverty. That is, when an employer refuses to hire Negroes, women, children under 18, or adults 45 and older, the effects of discrimination on one of the three basic causes of poverty is rather obvious. But discrimination is not always direct; it is not only the refusal by some employers to hire individuals whom they regard as "undesirables" on social or racial grounds. Discrimination prior to employment could also affect the productivity of the individual so that unemployment may not be due to discrimination by employers but rather to insufficient education and level of skills.

In general, discrimination leads to the restriction of opportunities at all stages of life (e.g., poor schools, bad neighborhoods, slums, discrimination in employment) which results in low skill levels, insufficient background in the functioning of our modern society, and the possible formation of a subculture. This, in turn, may lead to poor work habits (in addition to the lack of needed skills), which may further accentuate the poverty cycle. Finally, it is worthwhile to emphasize that discrimination is not due only to racial and similar overtones. Age has already been mentioned as a factor. Also the obvious discrimination against women (who are likely to receive lower wages than men for the same jobs performed equally well) could be mentioned. Neither can the discrimination against individuals with "deviate" social characteristics, such as police records and some types of mental and physical disabilities, be ignored in this context.

Lack of Education and Skills. Although it may be asserted that much of the lack of skills or basic education is due to discrimination, the voluntary termination of education or insufficient knowledge about existing opportunities, which are not due to direct discrimination, cannot be ignored. Furthermore, whatever the underlying causes of this problem, it is widely recognized as perhaps the overriding issue in current poverty programs. As the economy grows and progresses, as technology advances, the needed skill levels rise in proportion. Thus, those individuals who do not take advantage of sufficient and relevant training may find themselves in one of the categories mentioned above. It may be useful to distinguish between the young who do not have sufficient education and skills and those adults whose skills are either nonexistent or obsolete. There is also a difference between inadequate education which results from the lack of opportunities or bad judgment and that which is due to mental inability to comprehend the higher level of academic and/or vocational education required of the productive (potentially) members of the labor force.

Female Head. It has already been mentioned that families headed by females are considered to have a greater likelihood of being poor than those families which are headed by males. Other things equal, it is obvious that poor families that are headed by females are more likely to be of concern to those whose job it is to design the welfare and manpower (including antipoverty) programs. In the first place, it is very likely that household duties would keep the female head away from full participation in the labor market--in addition to the well-known fact that some discrimination against women exists in the market. This leads to a short-run problem of lack of needed cash to support the household. In addition, there is the long-run implication that the children of such families will fail to receive the proper training which they will need to become productive members of society. Hence such families deserve a different treatment from that given to poverty families in which the male is present.

Mental and Physical Disabilities. Once again, it must be pointed out that there is overt and covert discrimination against individuals with some disability. While mental or physical disability may limit the productivity of an individual, his potential is far from nil. With proper training (assuming discrimination can be overcome), a blind person, for example, may become a fully productive member of society. The same argument also applies to persons with certain degrees of mental and physical disability. In a sense, old age could be considered a form of disability--even if the individual is perfectly healthy. Certainly, old people who are involuntarily unemployed suffer from either discrimination due to their age or from some inherent disability or from both.

Cultural Factors. For whatever reasons, there are numerous groups and subgroups of society whose members appear to be alienated from the "middle-class values" of our society. Thus, they may possess attitudes toward work that render them less desirable for employment by firms, or they may wish to withdraw from the labor force voluntarily. In addition, the different value system may lead to the (voluntary) reluctance to acquire those skills which they would need if they were to obtain jobs in our industrial society. This will surely lead to less favorable employment possibilities. These points were discussed at length in the section above titled "Psychological Characteristics of the Poor."

Lack of Sufficient Aggregate Demand. Thus far this chapter has concentrated on the supply side of the labor market. Several features have been noted that may affect the supply of the individual's labor whether in terms of available hours (female heads) or the productivity per hour (disabilities, lack of education and skills, etc.). But not all of the causes of poverty are to be found in the so-called structural aspect of the labor market. According to many noted economists, the poverty problem could be almost eliminated if sufficient aggregate demand existed in the economy. If that were the case, so they argue, the market for labor would become quite tight (meaning that it would be difficult to find workers to fill job vacancies) and employers would be willing to accept and train individuals with lower skill levels. Also, employers would tend to disregard the racial and minority affiliations of workers, and might even agree to train and rehabilitate persons with disabilities. In other words, given a sufficiently tight market, the resulting increase in the wage bill might be sufficient to eliminate poverty altogether. But it still could not solve the problems for some persons who are inherently unemployable. However, the welfare system could be considerably reduced--if, indeed, the nation pursued aggressive fiscal and monetary policies to achieve virtually full employment.

Lack of Sufficient Labor Market Information. While the availability of jobs is a prerequisite for employment, it is quite likely that many people lack income because they are unaware of existing job opportunities. Thus a person could be unemployed, underemployed, or completely out of the labor force because, in his view, no improved arrangement seemed possible. With better information, this individual might find a job which would change his status significantly. Some interesting observations on this question can be found in Stevens' study on Supplemental Labor Market Information (1968). Also, Fox (1968) has suggested that a grand scheme be established whereby all applicants' qualifications and employers' job specifications be fed into computers which will match the available supply with the existing demand. Matching can thus become almost instantaneous, involving only a short lag between the time that a job is sought and the time in which a job is found. (Such programs are actually being tested in several Employment Service Offices.) But, once again, this scheme assumes that other things are equal; however, many of the "causes" are independent of the availability of sufficient labor market information. This, too, is only a partial answer to the poverty problem and to the inefficient allocation of manpower resources.

Imperfections in the Labor Market. Aside from the lack of adequate market information and other problems that restrict the full utilization of resources, the existence of labor monopolies and industrial monopsonies may cause poverty by restricting employment or forcing down real wages. First, labor unions may, indeed, raise the wages paid to those who are employed. But in most cases this will result in the hiring of fewer workers by industry than would otherwise be the case. Second, if one industry happens to be the sole employer within a geographical area, it can force real wages down--thus dropping some individuals below the poverty-line income level.

A similar result will be achieved if several employers collectively agree to force wages down in a poverty area. Such an agreement need not be explicit; it suffices that such a policy is carried out by resort to "tradition." In all such cases, the lot of the persons adversely affected may be improved by breaking the explicit or implicit restrictions. From a practical point of view this possibility seems rather remote; nor is it easy to ascertain the significance of such restrictive practices.

CRITERIA FOR AND RESOURCE ALLOCATION OF PUBLIC SPENDING

Criteria

There are a number of circumstances when government involvement in the economy is justifiable. Some of the major considerations are given below.[2]

1. When "external economies" (variously termed third-party benefits, spillovers, or neighborhood effects) exist; i.e., when the provision of a given product or service in the marketplace leads to the situation where the beneficiaries of the product or service are not exclusively those who purchase the product or service. For example, when one obtains police or fire protection, others also benefit. Other classes of services commonly associated with external economies include education, health care, and defense. When external economies exist, it is likely that goods and services will be produced in less than the optimal quantities. Government action, whether in terms of regulation, subsidization, or production, may be used to approach a more optimal allocation of resources.

2. When "external diseconomies," or "external costs," exist; i.e., when the costs of resources expended to provide a given good or service are less for the individual producer (or provider) than for society. Classical examples of external costs include those of air and water pollution, where the costs to the manufacturers typically exclude costs of pollution abatement or control, while society must absorb these costs either in the form of cleaning up the environment or in the form of health hazards and reduced levels of personal utility. Where external costs exist, overproduction of goods or services is likely to result. Government intervention, in the form of regulation, taxation, or other means, is therefore justified.

3. When the nature of operation in the given industry dictates, for technical reasons, that a monopoly should be established; for example, it would be a sheer waste to establish duplicate postal, rail, telephone, or electric systems. Regulation of such public utilities, to avoid the

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[2] This section draws heavily on Heller (1957), and Musgrave (1959), Chapter 1.

possibilities of monopolistic exploitation, has been the typical solution in the United States.

4. In some cases, government involvement in production or distribution of services is justified, where the nature of the services makes the government a more efficient producer. For example, whereas private production and distribution of highways is possible, an elaborate pricing mechanism would be necessary to make the operation profitable. Since the cost to society of having one more individual use the highway is practically zero, efficient utilization requires that the price be set at zero. To attain a condition of optimal allocation of resources, government would have to take charge of highway construction, and provide highway services free of charge. Also, where risks are so great that no private undertaking of certain projects (e.g., space explorations or development of atomic energy) is possible, government involvement is justified.

5. In the case of a pure "public good"--that is, when a given good is jointly consumed by all citizens, and where there is no practical way to exclude citizens from enjoying this particular good or service (such as national defense)--government must step in and provide the good or service.

6. In some cases, the free market allocation of goods or services appears unsatisfactory. Society may desire more of a given good or service than is allocated by the free market mechanism because it considers a good especially meritorious. Examples are education; care of the aged, infirm, and disabled; and veterans' benefits.

7. Society may be dissatisfied with the distribution of income and wealth. Government action is then called for to effect changes in the distribution of income such that levels of poverty and inequality of income will be reduced.

The federal poverty programs reflect both allocative considerations and redistributive goals. In the allocative category, elimination of slums and urban blight will provide not only direct satisfaction to the inhabitants of these areas but also external benefits to those who travel through or are engaged in commerce in or near the area. Further, manpower programs may reduce crime and hence police costs. Moreover, the additional manpower which such programs are designed to create may have favorable impact on labor market conditions, and thus on area income and growth. Finally, enhancing the earning power of the poor is a primary goal of income distribution policy. It is clear, therefore, that government involvement in manpower training of the hard-core unemployed may be justified on several grounds.

Resource Allocation

Underlying all economic systems is the fact that resources are scarce. The job of the economist is to suggest ways and means that would provide the best possible allocation of scarce resources among competing uses to achieve maximum "social welfare." It has already been shown that resources for governmental use should be so allocated only if one (or more) of the above categories is satisfied. Moreover, since the institutional framework in the United States is such that the resources at the disposal of government are virtually fixed (by virtue of the tax system and the disinclination on the part of Congress to resort to substantial budget deficits), there is a serious problem of allocating the available resources among the various areas to which government is expected to contribute. In essence two broad questions may be asked: (1) What share of the budget should be allocated to each governmental department or agency? (2) Given the resources available to each department, how should these be allocated to each program within the department?

The CEP is in one sense an attempt to allocate public funds on a program basis rather than in the conventional by-department manner. When allocation is made on a program-by-program basis more funds may be channeled into projects that are expected to provide high returns (over costs, of course). Yet the CEP seems to have received a high priority by the Johnson administration not just because of the expected net returns but also because of the pernicious circumstances that have precipitated the turmoil in the urban slums of the nation.

In any event, the problem of resource allocation should seriously be considered at each level of government activity. For example, as soon as the target area of the CEP or the Model Cities program has been defined, all other areas outside this target area are excluded. But many other areas need some federal support--for example, to rebuild the slums and retrain the labor force or to prevent the possibilities of those areas becoming slums and the labor force being undertrained and undereducated. Therefore, part or all of the benefits--if any--of the public effort in the slums will certainly be offset by the costs of not using these funds elsewhere. Similarly, when more slots under the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) programs are given to the severely disadvantaged, there is less room for training individuals who are not hard-core unemployed. Yet there are many persons who could not receive training from the private sector, despite the fact that they are not included in the disadvantaged group--or would not receive as much training if left to the mercy of the private training programs--so that there is a strong possibility that training the disadvantaged may render a net economic loss to society.

Given that society desires to alleviate poverty, a number of options are open to government in order to achieve the stated goal. The choice of retraining and manpower development programs reflects the belief that people should be self-supporting, if mentally and physically capable, so that federal funds are spent only toward promoting "equal opportunity" or similar slogans that imply limited reliance upon society by the individual receiving help. However, it is quite likely that for some individuals training and manpower programs are useless; for others, the result may be ambiguous. In any event, it is clear that a certain degree of substitutability exists between the provision of cash income to the poor and the provision of manpower services. The principle of optimal resource allocation demands that both alternatives be examined with regard to the net benefits that may ensue.

MEASURES TO COMBAT POVERTY

Poverty could, of course, be eliminated by providing a "guaranteed income" of x dollars per family (x varying with family size and other considerations), so that by definition there would be no more poverty. In this case there would be no need to know what causes poverty--so long as the population was prepared to pay the sums necessary to completely eliminate poverty. However, there is a great deal of reluctance by taxpayers to support everyone whose income falls below a certain level for whatever reasons and for long durations of time. In addition, while defined poverty could be eliminated, some problems could not be solved by income redistribution. For example, some of the unfavorable externalities mentioned above may not necessarily disappear with the elimination of poverty. Also, aside from the existing waste of human resources, a guaranteed income formula may encourage some individuals who heretofore were self-supporting to become public charges. This seems particularly plausible for those who are at the margin of poverty and who do not possess any inclination toward work other than for obtaining cash income. Lampman (1965) rejects the guaranteed income formula for this reason. He suggests instead a "negative income tax" approach which would maintain incentive.

In traditional economic thought individuals are expected to possess some preference ordering for income and leisure. That is, at any point in time, every person will have an explicit or implicit rate of substitution between a small increase in income and an alternative increase in leisure (where leisure per day equals 24 minus total hours of work per day). Therefore, if more leisure is always preferable to less, and if no sacrifice in income is anticipated, an individual whose income is on the threshold of poverty is very likely to work fewer hours (if any) once a guaranteed income scheme becomes available to anyone regardless of circumstances. Note, however, that such an assertion depends on the type of income maintenance program that becomes available as well as on the inherent inclinations of individuals in our society for or against work. Some recent evidence indicates that a higher level of payments under the General Assistance Payments (GAP) program results in very little or no increase in the number of welfare recipients. According to Kasper (1968), ". . . workers arrive on the welfare rolls after a long journey which entails unemployment, the exhaustion of unemployment insurance, and the withdrawal of possibilities of further private charity." Kasper concludes, therefore, "that few workers are receiving GAP because they prefer this kind of welfare assistance to earning a living" (p. 88).

There are still some who believe that changes in the level of assistance would have disincentives on work (Brehem and Saving, 1964 and 1967; Stein and Albin, 1967). But their main argument is weakly, if at all, supported by state-by-state data on the level of GAP. Surely, much of the variation between states can be (and is) explained in terms of environmental, legal, and institutional characteristics. But perhaps a more important consideration should be given to some types of subgroups in society that may have significantly different attitudes toward work. For such groups the disincentive effects of an income-maintenance program may be quite substantial. While there is only fragmentary evidence on this score, a study by Patten and Clark (1968) indicates that for the Negro hard-core unemployed in Detroit jobs are wanted only

> to the extent that sufficient money is obtained by having jobs. . . . Jobs could be dispensed with if there were sources which could provide sufficient money (such as "guaranteed income" perhaps) and allow the respondents to use it as they wish. The attitude toward work for these people is pragmatic; work is a means to wages. Work for other reasons tends to be of lesser value. They have no reason to expect intrinsic joy in work and little of the Puritan Ethic we hear so much about in studies of white middle class Americans. [p. 44]

Another empirical study fairly well summarizes the expected effects on work incentives of an income-maintenance program: "Although the average change in work effort over the entire population is likely to be small, certain low-income workers may show substantial changes in hours worked. The change will be most pronounced for workers in the lowest income brackets, partly because these persons have low wage rates and partly because they come from large families" (Leuthold, 1968, p. 323).

Given the apparent reluctance to provide comprehensive and effective income-maintenance programs, and the fact that even a guaranteed income scheme cannot solve all of the complex facets of poverty--at least in the long run--other anti-poverty programs must therefore be established that will (1) be supported by the electorate and (2) achieve the goals of reducing poverty and thereby eliminating as many of the externalities as is feasible under the constraint of limited resources.

The Structural and Aggregate Demand Hypotheses

Economists have long been engaged in a controversy on the causes of unemployment. One school of thought maintained that unemployment is mainly a question of supply; that is, if the necessary skills and training were provided to all members of the labor force there would be no unemployment, except for a small rate due to job turnover ("frictional" unemployment). The general "cause" of unemployment, in this extreme view, is the effect of automation. And while most would agree that automation creates as many jobs as it destroys, its effects are still considered by many to be one of the most important causes of unemployment and poverty:

> Consequently, the economy tends to create a frozen, unusable industrial reserve army with no palpable relation to the affluent, functioning segment of the society. One may estimate the hard-core unemployment attributable to such structural change, that is, stemming from alterations in production functions or capital-labor coefficients, or whatever it is the theoretical economist wishes to call them--changes that are inherent in technology--at approximately 1.3 million persons. But this is merely the visible portion of technology's toll. To these souls

> one must add, as does Leon Keyserling, a million or more workers who have dropped out of the labor force because they got tired of looking for jobs and are therefore not counted in the official census, and a million in full-time equivalents for those working part-time. [Seligman, 1966, p. 9]

At the other extreme are those maintaining that unemployment and poverty result from the lack of aggregate demand which would create sufficient jobs for everyone, regardless of level of training. The argument is quite straightforward: with a sufficiently tight labor market, employers will tend to relax their hiring standards, disregard noneconomic attributes of the workers (such as age, sex, race), and will pay a "living wage" to every employee.

But most students of poverty and unemployment are agreed that neither one nor the other hypothesis can by itself explain the phenomenon of unemployment. Rather, a combination of both hypotheses is a more plausible explanation. It becomes a basically empirical question as to which hypothesis is more important at any given time in any particular place. Further, it can be illuminating to attempt to estimate the possible decline in poverty that will ensue when national income increases by x percent. There is some evidence on this question (Gallaway, 1965, 1967; Aaron, 1967). Assuming that the CEA definition of poverty is acceptable, and assuming that the rate of growth of GNP during the period 1957 to 1980 is expected to equal that experienced during the period 1947 to 1956, while the unemployment rate remains at 4 percent, Gallaway estimated that by 1970 the rate of poverty would be 12.6 percent and in 1980 just 6.4 percent--compared with the actual rate of 17.6 percent in 1964.

Aaron (1967) pointed out, however, that the measure of poverty used by Gallaway is far from adequate. He also demonstrated that Gallaway's estimates are very sensitive to the form of the equation used for estimation (semi-logs versus double logs). Aaron's study corroborates the estimates given by the CEA--showing a poverty rate of about 10 percent in 1980 (see assumptions above)--not 6.4, as estimated by Gallaway. In addition, Aaron shows that while the overall rate of poverty is likely to decline as the economy grows, the decrease in the incidence of poverty will be substantially less for specific segments of the population than for the nation as a whole. This lends some support to the "backwash thesis," i.e., the assertion "that some disadvantaged groups benefit to a smaller extent from growth than does the remainder of society" (p. 1231).

Some other interesting hypotheses are related to this discussion. For example, as aggregate demand increases, would unemployment actually decrease or would there be an increase in the labor force (as some individuals who were not previously in the labor force join in the search for jobs when they see a tighter labor market) so that there might be an offsetting tendency to reduced unemployment? This is the "Discouraged Workers Hypothesis" (Barth, 1968). Another, the "Additional Workers Hypothesis," asserts ". . . that rising levels of unemployment bring additional or secondary workers pari passu into the labor market. As unemployment rates contract

. . . these additional workers will leave the labor force" (Barth, p. 375).[3] Once again, there are some fragmentary bits of evidence to substantiate these hypotheses, but as yet no conclusive evidence for or against either can be found.

In view of the preceding comments it appears that attempts by the government to reduce the rate of unemployment by promoting aggressive fiscal and monetary policies may not succeed. But even if these policies cannot reduce the absolute size of the unemployment rate, they may yet reduce poverty substantially. At the same time, aggressive aggregate demand policy cannot solve the problem of poverty in its entirety because some groups are less likely than others to benefit from the fruits of economic growth. Further, there are always those individuals who cannot hold jobs because of mental or physical deficiencies (some of which may be correctable). Finally, even a tight labor market cannot guarantee the quick absorption of the entire labor force into above-poverty level paying jobs, so that the nation is still confronted with (at least) a short-run problem of poverty.

Even supposing that poverty is primarily a question of insufficient aggregate demand, there are numerous political, economic, and other constraints that prevent the pursuance of sufficiently aggressive fiscal and monetary policies. Moreover, even if such aggressive policies as are needed on the national level are followed, there is no guarantee that the same will be true for each locality. If it is agreed that labor mobility is not perfect (i.e., many persons are reluctant to change their places of residence despite the fact that better jobs are available elsewhere), pockets of unemployment and poverty are likely to occur. And the remedy to such bottlenecks is to be found in an entirely different program of action.

There is another serious deficiency in the aggregate demand approach. While it may be sound on economic terms it ignores what is termed "social injustice"--an awareness in modern society of the plight of the poor, and in particular of the nonwhite poor. Then the goal becomes not just full employment, or the provision of a "minimum decency" income to all Americans, but also the alteration of existing employment patterns by promoting as many of the poor as possible from low-paying menial jobs to skilled, semiskilled, and even professional and managerial positions. This type of goal calls for an entirely different approach.

Short-run versus Long-run Remedies

Providing the poor with cash income to lift them above the poverty level (however defined) may serve to satisfy the collective conscience

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[3] Barth presents some evidence on both hypotheses and compares the results with earlier evidence from Strand and Dernburg (1964).

of society and, perhaps, the recipients of the grant. As stated above, this may be the only solution for some segments of the poverty-stricken population. But for others this type of relief may not be optimal in the long run. For it may well be that if additional sums were to be spent for the purpose of training or retraining the individuals under consideration, some or all of them might, in time, become self-sufficient. The costs to society of such training programs can clearly be delineated. And while the total benefits cannot be directly estimated (due, in particular, to "intangible" benefits exemplified by increased optimism, improved family environment, etc.), some benefits can. For example, it is possible to estimate the amount that would have been spent on transfer payments in the future had these individuals not become self-sufficient (or even partially so). Further, if the newly trained person becomes a taxpayer, the future flows of tax money represent a "payment" on the investment made earlier. In sum, it would be possible to compare the visible costs with estimated benefits (using some cost-benefit criterion). Such an analysis is likely to shed some light on the comparative worth of different programs (Mangum, 1967).

Moreover, even some manpower programs that ostensibly appear to be of a long-run nature really represent nothing but a short-run outlook. In most cases the emphasis is on jobs: once an individual is job ready, the training should stop. While the importance of job experience and the social and psychological outcomes of employment are not in question, it may be that the major reason for such an emphasis lies in short-run economy. That is, since funds are limited, the pattern is to prepare an individual for a specific job--regardless of his long-run qualifications--in order to make the training slot available to someone else who is not job ready. Thus agencies may be spending huge sums to train many individuals for existing work patterns and existing job specifications in limited occupations. An alternative approach could be to train fewer persons, but provide them with solid backgrounds that are likely to provide a "hedge" for future technological changes and shifting jobs and occupations. In sum, there is a short-run option of resorting to income transfers only; a short-run option of training relatively many persons for immediate job openings in relatively inferior occupations; and a long-run option in which, although fewer persons would be trained, the training would be so intensive as to reduce the likelihood that such persons would ever again become public charges.

Minimum Wage

Many students of poverty have suggested that imposing minimum wages in all sectors of the economy may be an important anti-poverty measure. Most economists would argue, however, that such a measure might be a serious deterrent to private industry in hiring unskilled labor. As Machlup (1965) points out, a minimum wage law may actually work against the poor: "The minimum-wage constraint is an example of restraining of competition, since, in reducing the employability of low-grade workers, it shelters non-poor workers against competition from poor workers" (p. 456). Harbison (1965) suggests that this problem may be solved by "paying a wage subsidy to employers who agree to employ at the minimum wage the breadwinner of poor families for work which otherwise would not be performed" (p. 205). Machlup, however, objects to the subsidy measure: "Subsidies would lead to inefficient uses of labor; moreover, where families include several wage earners, such subsidies might accrue to non-poor families. Hence we conclude: income supplement to the poor--yes; subsidies to their employers--no" (Machlup, 1965, p. 457). Similarly, Machlup argues that the abolition of other restrictive practices such as trade-union minimum wages and "conventional minimum wages" which are set voluntarily by employers will contribute to efficiency and reduce poverty. Kaufman and Foran (1968), however, while conceeding that minimum wages have adverse employment effects, conclude that ". . . there is no strong evidence that this unemployment is unequally distributed toward the 'disadvantaged' groups in society" (p. 216). They further state that minimum wages do raise the wages of workers and may tend to create a more equal distribution of personal income.

Preventing Future Poverty

It is one thing to remedy the poverty which already exists; it is another to prevent the occurrence of poverty in the future. Generally speaking, education is the most important weapon in our arsenal in this category. But others may also be utilized: family planning; better health for the young to avoid complications in later years (involves better nutrition, prenatal and postnatal care, etc.); measures to prevent dropouts from school (work-study programs, cash assistance, changing the curriculum to make it more relevant to the poor); urban renewal and slum clearance; and so on.[4] Once again, it seems that investment in such measures will result in substantial net benefits to society. At the same time, providing the adult population with adequate means of support, with training and basic education, would have great impact on future generations.

Other Measures

Before closing this section, a number of other suggestions that have been made regarding how to reduce the incidence of poverty should be discussed. One was made by Marion Folsom (1965), who maintained that improving the existing transfer payments system might do much to alleviate poverty. For example, since unemployment insurance applies only to establishments that employ four or more workers, an appreciable number of poor persons (many of whom find employment in small establishments) are excluded from such benefits. Further, the level of benefits under this category is too low to prevent poverty. Similarly, old age insurance falls behind the general rise in wage levels, thus creating relative poverty among the old. Other suggestions relate to better hospital planning to improve health; extension of the vocational rehabilitation program, which is believed to be exceptionally successful;[5] and increased utilization of social workers, who, some believe, could do much to solve the poverty dilemma.

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[4] Some additional details are given by Machlup (1965).

Other authors tend to regard the present welfare system as obsolete. Some would even argue that our existing manpower programs are not designed to serve the purposes for which they are intended. In particular, the fact that the poor are treated as "clients" reflects the attitude that no new institutional arrangements should be implemented, but rather that we attempt to fit the poor into existing frameworks. Some social scientists claim that it is not possible to eliminate poverty in America without revolutionizing our social processes and institutions. Retraining of the hard-core poor, they argue, should involve the poor in the entire process. If the goal is to develop self-sufficiency, how can the poor be expected to care about the future if they are given no voice in deciding what their own shall be (Riessman, 1965; Jacobs, 1965)? Pearl (1967) suggests that providing more service to the poor may only add to the problem. The solution, he argues, may be in getting more service from the poor. He believes that the only possible way out is by involving youth in the daily processes of life, "creating a function" for the poor and youth in society. This spells social change, including significant change in existing institutions, which--like any other attacks on the status quo--invites strong opposition from those who believe that their own welfare is likely to be thereby threatened.

In any event, it is the opinion of many who have studied poverty that the programs that have resulted from the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act, the Manpower Development and Training Act, and similar legislation will, in general, pay off and that they do follow a "correct" course. Mangum (1967), for example, contends that the returns from helping the disadvantaged exceed the returns that might have been realized had we shifted our manpower programs to the nonpoor.

> Both facilitating the employment of the unemployed and upgrading the quality of the labor force are justifiable social goals. . . . [However,] MDTA dollars are limited. Training the disadvantaged upgrades the labor force, but the opposite is not necessarily true. Given the limited budgets available and the human and social costs and benefits involved, the goal of enabling the disadvantaged to share in the progress and prosperity of the economy would seem to merit priority. [p. 73]

At the same time, until the inception of the CEP, these manpower programs were poorly, if at all, coordinated. The CEP is an attempt to avoid duplication, concentrating as many resources as possible in combating poverty among the hard-core unemployed.

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[5] Mangum (1968) asserts that the vocational rehabilitation program places more disadvantaged persons in competitive employment than MDTA or any of the EOA programs and at lower average costs.

RATIONALE OF THE CEP

The attack on poverty through the CEP and its component programs explicitly or implicitly assumes a particular philosophy regarding the causes of and remedies for poverty. Further, the types of priorities established, the eligibility requirements, and the choice of target areas reflect the belief that a particular segment of the population requires federal assistance more than the rest of the community.

Assumption 1: Poverty is primarily due to "structural" problems.

Although there are some provisions in the CEP plan for job development by enlisting the support of private and public employers and employers' representatives, especially through the National Alliance of Businessmen; by conducting labor market surveys to find the extent of job vacancies in various occupations; and by whatever other means now at the disposal of the local employment offices, still the major emphasis is on job orientation and training; preparing the clients for employment by teaching them how to act in job interviews, encouraging them to be better groomed, etc. (the orientation phase); providing counseling and basic education; and, ultimately, attempting to place them in private or public jobs. It seems clear that it is assumed the fault lies with the individual. The reason that he is one of the hard-core unemployed rests with the lack of skills, education, and the "right" orientation.

As Martin Rein (1967) points out:

> . . . many of these retraining programs are based on what might be described as the theory of the poverty cycle. The theory is familiar to all. Bad family life creates a poor context in which to try to motivate children to use education; consequently children of the poor do badly in school. School failures lead to limited jobs with inadequate pay, high unemployment, and vulnerability to occupational obsolesence. . . . This theory directs attention to the importance of personal inadequacy. Early intervention with programs of education and youth training, combined with programs to strengthen family life, becomes the strategy to reverse the cycle. [p. 46]

However, according to Rein, such policies ignore the "critically important task of creating more jobs," and so disregard the need for social reform--the recognition that it is society that is to blame rather than the individuals who are poor.

Assumption 2: CEP will increase employment and reduce poverty.

This is a rather basic assumption of the CEP as well as of the entire poverty program. It is assumed that enough jobs are available to absorb additional workers in certain occupations for which the poor are to be trained. This, however, requires (1) that such jobs will actually be opened to the CEP clientele, and (2) that the poor will not replace other workers who are in the labor force now or would have otherwise entered the labor force. To illustrate, suppose that in a particular locality there is a vocational school training auto mechanics. Also, a CEP program has been established in the urban slum of that city, and one of the training programs concentrates on auto mechanics. Thus, with a given number of vacancies in this area, the newly trained mechanics of the vocational school will face competition from the CEP trainees. If the quality of the mechanics from both programs is approximately equal, it is clear that unless there are sufficient slots for mechanics in the city or that such jobs are available elsewhere and that some will thus migrate to the jobs, the CEP will not have served the community. For if only the vocational students could get jobs, no employment for the CEP trainees would be secured. And, if some of the CEP trainees did obtain jobs--leaving equally qualified vocational graduates unemployed--poverty and unemployment would merely have been shifted from one group to another with no net gain to society (it can easily be shown that a net loss might result). To sum up, the assumption that the CEP will reduce unemployment and hence poverty may or may not be satisfied--even if the training program as a whole is a total success (which, of course, it may not be)--depends on the existence of ample job opportunities, on the access to such jobs,[6] and on whether the CEP trainees will replace present or potential workers.

Assumption 3: Individuals desire work (or at least ought to work).

This is also an important assumption that the "war on poverty" (and the CEP) implies. For the most part it is believed that individuals do want to work if the right job can be found. And if not that, at least it is believed that so long as they are capable of doing some work they ought to seek employment so as to become self-sufficient. This assumption is clearly visible in the directives of the CEP involving, first, a plan for training those who voluntarily attempt to join the program, and, second, a comprehensive attempt to recruit to the CEP many of the hard-core poor who would not normally volunteer. In this context it may be mentioned that all of those on welfare are required to register with the local employment offices and to seek employment, at least nominally. Similarly, recipients are also liable to be directed to the CEP for employability services. All of this points to the thesis that either people want jobs, so they ought to be trained for such jobs, or that they ought to seek jobs--and society will pressure them somehow to obtain training and at least try to make them self-sufficient.

The dangers involved when an individual is forced to seek work against his own will are rather obvious. But, once again, whether or not people agree with the philosophy it is clear that the CEP operates with a given set of mores and norms. It is an empirical question as to whether the poor have the same or similar social values and norms as middle-class Americans.[7] If the poor do indeed have a different set of attitudes, the bitterness and discontent perpetrated by this inappropriate approach may work in the opposite direction altogether.

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[6] The question of adequate transportation to areas in which the better jobs are located is a serious matter. A report on the Washington

Assumption 4: The priority is to concentrate on the "disadvantaged."

Not all of the training programs were initially designed to combat the poverty of the hard-core disadvantaged group. In fact, training under the Area Redevelopment Act and the MDTA tended to favor the better-qualified applicants. A "creaming" process ensured the selection of the least disadvantaged primarily because the chances for success with a relatively elite group were much greater. It was only after the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act--the core of the "war on poverty"--that a shift in priorities took place.

The recent concentration on the disadvantaged in urban slums--mostly Negroes--has been justified on several counts. First, it was asserted that unemployed persons not considered to be disadvantaged could obtain the necessary training from the private sector of the economy if they really desired such training. (This, of course, neglects the fact that unions control many of the training slots in industry so that a non-union, nondisadvantaged but unemployed person may not succeed in his quest for institutional or on-the-job training.) Second, as Mangum has pointed out (see earlier discussion), training the disadvantaged is likely to both upgrade the labor force and train and employ the hard-core unemployed. Third, political unrest, riots in the major metropolitan slums, and the continuous pressure by civil rights organizations and "black militants" all called for some action by government. The particular course of action by the Johnson administration was to establish the CEP and other similar programs. Perhaps it is worthwhile noting that such programs actually attempt to solve some of the unfavorable externalities discussed above, whereas training the not-so-disadvantaged is likely to reduce such externalities by a much smaller margin. There may be other reasons for the shift toward the economically and socially disadvantaged, but the above-mentioned aspects seem to include the majority of the most commonly stated reasons.

CEP indicates that one of the major problems is the lack of transportation from the center city of Washington to the more lucrative jobs in suburban Maryland or Virginia. A similar observation of Chicago's unemployment among the poor was made by Kain (1968).

[7] See the earlier comments on the subject of work incentives and the attitudes of the poor toward work.

Assumption 5: There is a need to coordinate the various manpower programs into an integrated system of manpower and human resource development.

As is well known, various approaches composed of many and diverse programs have been instituted to combat poverty. Each program has a distinct administrative framework, and the final jurisdiction does not lie within a Cabinet department but is, rather, spread among several departments (Labor, Commerce, Housing and Urban Development, Health, Education and Welfare), the Office of Economic Opportunity, and other agencies. The complexity of programs, jurisdictions, administrative frameworks, and lines of communication create different sets of priorities (often conflicting), gross duplication, and competition between agencies for clients, staff, and resources. Further, if each program establishes its own goals, these must be rather limited by virtue of the cost constraint. The likely outcome of such an uncoordinated system of programs is that very limited services and support will be given to many different groups of people. Such programs involve many individuals, but any one cannot give them the type and extent of services they need if they are to have any chance of success. Further, if by coordinating all of the programs sufficient sums can be saved (e.g., by avoiding duplication, sharing staff) it is possible that more services could be provided to the same number of clients. As the CEP has developed, howevever, the planners seem to have decided to increase services to a more compact group. This is evident from the eligibility requirements of the CEP and the choice of relatively small target areas. For example, one directive states that "target areas must be small enough to insure that the concentration of effort provides visible evidence that significant numbers of severely disadvantaged persons have gained employment" (Guidelines for Development, 1968). Also, directives have been issued to all of the agencies to increase as much as possible the enrollment of persons who meet the official definitions of disadvantaged.

The CEP is thus an attempt to provide a new organizational framework to old programs but with a new emphasis on helping the poor and the disadvantaged. The organizational framework and plan of action follow the assumptions presented above (at least on paper). The suggested "Participant Flo Chart" is given in Figure 2-1 to illustrate the general principles discussed in this chapter.[8]

The success or failure of the CEP will depend to a great extent on how correct the assumptions enumerated above are in each locality where the CEP is introduced. Other factors must also be considered, such as the degree of cooperation by local, state, and federal organizations (public and private); the skill of the CEP staff; the amount of funds available per client; and the availability of alternative programs and of supporting community services and other federal and state programs.

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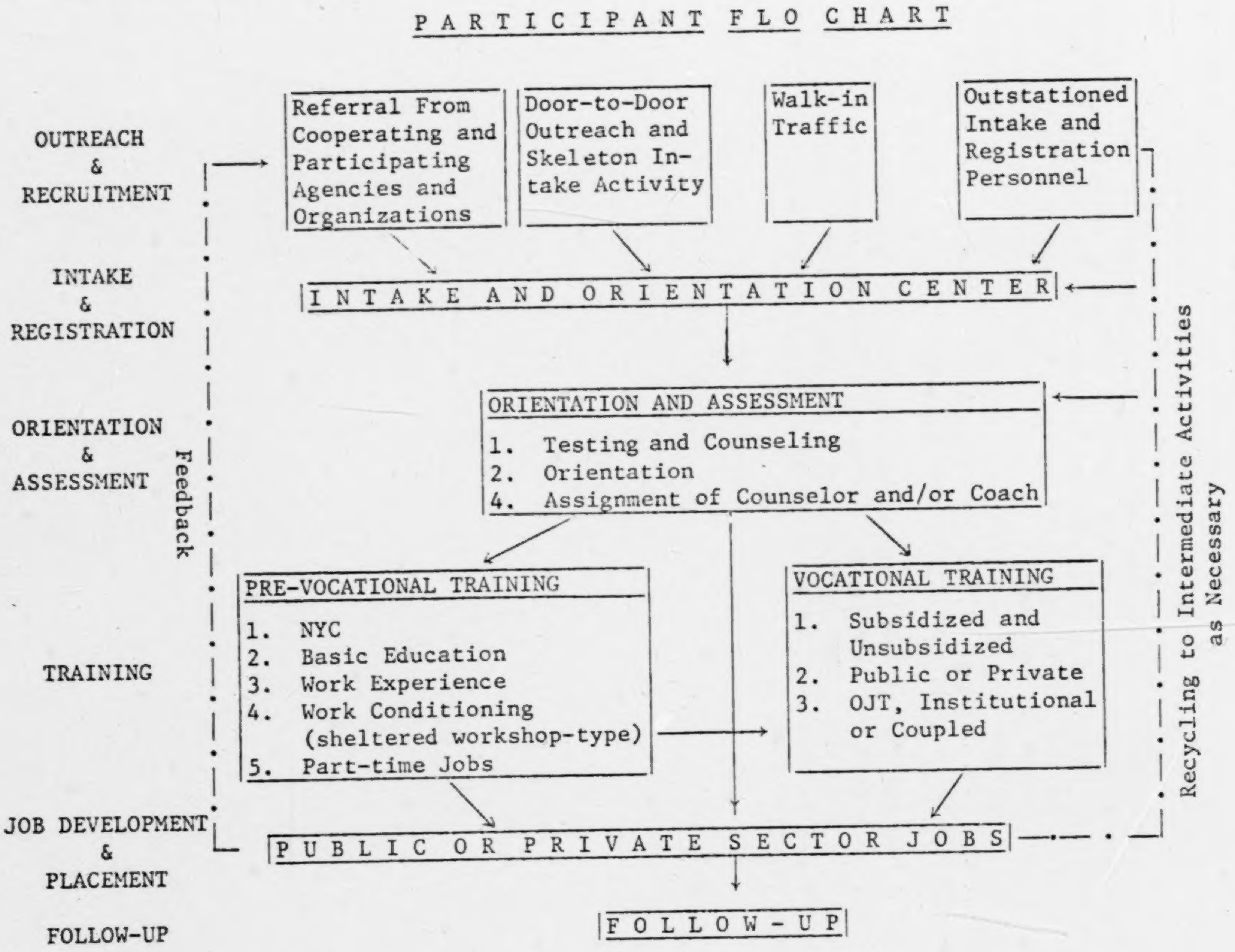
[8] The chart is reproduced from Guidelines for Development, Department of Labor (1968).

Figure 2-1. CEP Flow Chart


PARTICIPANT FLO CHART
OUTREACH & RECRUITMENT
INTAKE & REGISTRATION
ORIENTATION & ASSESSMENT
TRAINING
JOB DEVELOPMENT & PLACEMENT
FOLLOW-UP
Referral From Cooperating and Participating Agencies and Organizations
Door-to-Door Outreach and Skeleton Intake Activity
Walk-in Traffic
Outstationed Intake and Registration Personnel
INTAKE AND ORIENTATION CENTER
ORIENTATION AND ASSESSMENT
1. Testing and Counseling
2. Orientation
4. Assignment of Counselor and/or Coach
PRE-VOCATIONAL TRAINING
1. NYC
2. Basic Education
3. Work Experience
4. Work Conditioning (sheltered workshop-type)
5. Part-time Jobs
VOCATIONAL TRAINING
1. Subsidized and Unsubsidized
2. Public or Private
3. OJT, Institutional or Coupled
PUBLIC OR PRIVATE SECTOR JOBS
FOLLOW-UP
Feedback
Recycling to Intermediate Activities as Necessary

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter attempted to provide a concise analysis of the characteristics and causes of poverty, the rationale for the remedies and for governmental involvement in poverty programs, and the relation of the above to the CEP. Various definitions of poverty were presented, and the psychological, economic, and social characteristics of the poor were described as available literature presents them. It was observed that different policies would follow from different definitions of poverty.

Once poverty is defined and analyzed, programs to reduce it must hinge upon our ability to specify the root causes of poverty. Therefore, the measures to reduce poverty depend on what the main causes are considered to be. In that light, the assumptions inherent in the CEP were explicitly analyzed. To repeat, even if the CEP chooses the most skillful staff and provides excellent training, counseling, and orientation for its clientele, the program will not succeed unless the assumptions upon which it appears to be based are reasonably accurate.

As the CEP matures--and as more detail and data become available--it may be possible to ascertain whether the five assumptions prove to be generally accurate. The remainder of the report concerning the study of the Columbus, Ohio, CEP attempts to shed additional light on this very important question.

Chapter 3

ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COLUMBUS METROPOLITAN AREA

In the preceding chapter it was asserted that a successful program to combat poverty cannot materialize unless both of the following conditions are satisfied: (1) there must be sufficient demand for individuals whose abilities and skills resemble those of the Concentrated Employment Program clientele; and (2) placement of CEP enrollees in competitive jobs is not likely to result in the replacement of non-CEP individuals. The major function of the CEP is not to train individuals for new skills but rather to channel them to jobs for which they are already qualified. This is not to deny that training is given to some CEP enrollees. What is being emphasized is that the great majority of the enrollees receive little skill training, and attempts are made to place them in jobs as soon as placement is deemed feasible.

Conditions in the Columbus labor market area which existed at the time this study was conducted will provide some clues as to whether the above two conditions are in fact reasonably accurate. In this chapter the general characteristics of the Columbus labor market, its population, and other pertinent information are examined. While the analysis cannot, by itself, answer the main questions of this report, it is an important link in attempting to assess the effects of the CEP program in Columbus.

THE COLUMBUS LABOR MARKET

The city of Columbus, Ohio, is located in the heart of the nation's marketing area and forms the base of the Columbus Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. The counties comprising this SMSA are Franklin (the central county, containing the city proper), Delaware, and Pickaway. The majority of the population, labor force, and industry are located within the boundaries of Franklin County, but the other two provide additional area for future expansion.

The population of Columbus has been increasing rapidly. While in 1960 the total population of the city was 471,316, in 1970 it was 539,667. The growth of population in Franklin County has been quite dramatic, with a population in 1970 of 833,249 compared to the 1960 figure of about 683,000. Both the city and the SMSA have experienced net in-migration during the past several decades, and present indications point to a similar trend in the foreseeable future.

Employment and earnings have both increased substantially since 1950. With new businesses being established regularly, the demand for labor has kept pace with increased labor supply. In addition, there is sufficient diversification of business and commerce to support a highly diversified labor supply. The Columbus SMSA includes not only a host of small and large industrial firms, but also the state offices of Ohio, Ohio State University, and the services, retail and wholesale trade, transportation, and other establishments typically found in large industrial areas which employ a large number of individuals of differing skill levels.

The potential growth of Columbus and the surrounding area is also evidenced by the development of an international airport, and its proximity to rich coal mines, which supply the area with both necessary raw material for industry and a source of energy. Without elaborating further at this point, it can be said without reservation that the Columbus area is a promising ground for industrial and commercial growth. It appears that such a large labor market area, with its diversification, could easily absorb additional workers without seriously affecting job-seekers who are not enrolled in the CEP. The remainder of this section will concentrate on specific characteristics of the market, namely, employment, earnings, population, and other relevant data.

Employment and Earnings

Some background information on past employment trends in the Columbus area is presented in Table 3-1. The largest categories of employment have been in the manufacturing industries and wholesale and retail trades. Further, the percentage distribution of employment by type of industry has not changed markedly since 1950. As mentioned above, the contribution of government in the form of labor demand has been quite substantial, owing in large measure to employment opportunities open to individuals in the state offices which are located in the city of Columbus.

Although the above information (on past trends) is informative, of main interest to this report are conditions in the labor market at the time the study was conducted. That is, since the CEP attempted to place a number of persons in the labor market at that time, the success of such placements depended on the strength of the labor market then and its potential in the future. The CEP enrollees would likely be the first group to be laid off should conditions in the labor market worsen; hence the success of the CEP hinged largely upon the future trend of supply and demand in the labor market. Because the future could not be forecast with certainty, attention must be focused on the conditions which existed. Table 3-2 provides data on the trend of employment in the Columbus area during the period immediately prior to and during the study.

Total employment increased at an average annual rate of over 4 percent--with as high an increase as 6.7 percent in January 1969 relative to the level of employment a year earlier. Month-to-month variations are also reported. In general there was a consistent increase in employment, seasonal fluctuations (as well as those due to labor disputes) notwithstanding. (An increase of one-half

Table 3-1

Distribution of Employment in Franklin County

Employment Category	Census			Percentage Distribution		
	1950	1960	1967	1950	1960	1967
				%	%	%
Total for County	202,675	256,684	304,747	100.0	100.0	100.0
Government (City, Co., State, Fed.)	22,266	35,869	34,505	11.0	14.0	11.3
Manufacturing	52,743	70,162	74,556	26.0	27.3	24.5
Wholesale & Retail Trade	43,375	51,042	76,719	21.4	19.9	25.2
Transportation, Communications, & Public Utilities	19,428	18,849	20,999	9.6	7.3	6.9
Construction	11,687	16,047	17,362	5.7	6.2	5.7
Agriculture, Mining, & Quarrying	6,221	3,489	3,489	3.1	1.4	1.1
Finance, Insurance, & Real Estate	10,369	17,861	24,437	5.1	7.0	8.0
Service	33,818	43,365	52,680	16.7	16.9	17.3
Other	2,768			1.4		

Source: Columbus Area Chamber of Commerce, Columbus Area Growth Report for 1968.

of 1 percent from one month to the next implies an annual increase of about 6 percent.) It must be noted, however, that it is not enough for employment to increase at a certain rate. What is needed is an increase in employment to match the increase in the supply of labor--due to either natural growth or net in-migration.

An individual is considered to be in the labor force if he is either employed or seeking gainful employment. The size of the labor force is,

Table 3-2

Nonagricultural Wage and Salary Employment in Columbus Metropolitan Area, 1968-1970

Month	Employment (in thousands)			Percentage Change of Total Employment	
	Manufacturing	Non-manufacturing	Total	From a Year Ago	From Previous Month
September 1968	87.9	262.1	350.0	3.7	.7
December	90.3	272.7	367.1	5.2	1.4
January 1969	91.8	265.8	357.6	6.7	-2.6
May	92.0	276.7	368.7	4.5	1.1
August	92.2	278.6	370.7	4.6	.8
December	94.2	290.5	384.7	4.6	2.3
January 1970	93.4	280.7	374.2	4.6	-2.8
April	92.1	288.9	381.0	4.0	1.0
August	91.3	290.3	381.6	2.4	.6

Source: Ohio Labor Market Information, a monthly publication of the Division of Research and Statistics, Ohio Bureau of Employment Services, Columbus, Ohio.

therefore, the sum of the number of people employed and the number of unemployed. To be considered "unemployed" or "involuntarily unemployed," one must state that he is actively seeking employment. If this is not the case, the unemployed individual may be considered as "voluntarily unemployed," and therefore not part of the labor force. The distinction between "voluntary" and "involuntary" unemployment is a crucial one, as the analysis of unemployment will perforce disregard all those who are considered voluntarily unemployed. In some cases these individuals are truly outside the labor force, having no desire whatsoever to be part of it. On the other hand, this group of voluntary persons often includes some who would join the force if and when conditions improved to the point where they would have a much better chance of obtaining a job. Thus, even if the absolute number of the unemployed does not decrease, the composition of this group may, indeed, change. Also, a given decline in unemployment may conceal an even greater decline due to this effect (see the analysis of the "discouraged workers hypothesis" in the preceding chapter). In any event, the record of unemployment in the Columbus area is an indication that the increase in labor demand more than compensated for any increases in labor supply. Whereas in 1966 the unemployment rate (defined as the number of unemployed as a percentage of the total labor force) was 2.7 percent (in the metropolitan area), it declined to about 2.2 percent in 1967. Selected months are recorded for 1968 through 1970 in Table 3-3. Again, disregarding seasonal and other external fluctuations in the unemployment rate, this table indicates that the increase in labor demand matched the increase in labor supply, maintaining extremely low rates of unemployment. One must remember that the rates reported in Table 3-3 are far below the national average of about 3.6 percent (in 1969).[1] Also, as mentioned earlier, a constant rate of unemployment may be due to the "discouraged workers hypothesis" so that increased labor demand may actually have exceeded the increase in labor supply.

As employment has increased over the years so have wages. Such an increase may be attributed partially to "inflation," meaning that certain increases in wages were necessary to leave purchasing power (at least) unchanged. However, average weekly earnings rose from about $90 in 1958 to more than $122 in 1967, implying that wages increased during the period at an average annual rate of 4 percent. During the same period, the Consumer Price Index increased by 15.4 percent, or by less than 2 percent per year. Consequently, it appears that workers, on the average, enjoyed a higher standard of living in 1967 than in 1958. The increase in earnings by industry, for that period, is given in Table 3-4.

Additional data on earnings are given in Table 3-5 for selected months. The variation in earnings among industrial groups is sharply discernible. Typically, workers in construction fared far better than those in other areas. Manufacturing and transportation pay similar (average) wages, while workers in the wholesale and retail group appear to earn much lower wages than members of the other three groups. Similarly, the growth in earnings is larger in the construction industry than in the others. For example, the percentage change from August 1969 to August 1970 in gross earnings of production workers in construction was 7.4 percent compared to 2.7 percent in transportation and utilities, 3.8 percent in wholesale and retail trade, and 5.4 percent in manufacturing. On the whole, the trend of rising salary levels appears to continue well into the 1969-70 period. It should be noted, however, that the real earnings of workers have not increased much (if at all) recently due to severe inflationary pressures.

Population

It was noted above that the population of the Columbus area has been increasing rapidly in the past decades. As Table 3-6 indicates, the population of the city of Columbus increased by an average annual rate of about 2.5 percent during the period 1950 to 1960; during the same period, the rate of increase in the population of Franklin County was about 3.6 percent. Expansion

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[1] See the Economic Report of the President (Washington: 1969), p. 255.

Table 3-3

Unemployment in the Columbus Area, 1968-1970

Month	Employed	Unemployed	Unemployment Rate
September 1968	386,000	9,300	2.4
December	395,700	10,000	2.5
January 1969	389,300	8,700	2.2
May	405,500	6,700	1.6
August	406,700	8,200	2.0
December	416,700	10,600	2.5
January 1970	406,600	11,100	2.7
April	415,700	14,300	3.3
August	418,300	11,100	2.6

Source: Ohio Labor Market Information, a monthly publication of the Division of Research and Statistics, Ohio Bureau of Employment Services, Columbus, Ohio.

continued during the 1960's at an average annual rate of 1.45 percent for the city of Columbus, 2.20 percent for Franklin County, and 2.14 percent for the entire metropolitan area.

Part of the increase in population is due to natural growth (i.e., resident births less resident deaths). During the period 1960 to 1968, resident births exceeded resident deaths in Franklin County by more than 88,000, implying a net natural increase of 31.2 persons per day. The rate of natural increase in the city of Columbus was substantially lower--21.7 persons per day.

Natural growth accounted for less than 50 percent of the increase in the population of Franklin County but for more than 60 percent in the city of Columbus. This may be due to out-migration from the city proper to the outlying areas in Franklin County. Yet the net migration into Columbus was still positive--at a rate of 17.3 persons per day. This suggests a change in the composition of the Columbus population, particularly if many of the in-migrants into the city came from rural areas (especially from the South). Data

Table 3-4

Average Weekly Earnings in Franklin County,
Selected Industries

Industry	Average Weekly Earnings		Percentage Increase
	1958	1967	
Mining and Quarrying	$114.80	$151.39	31.87
Contract Construction	103.38	153.31	48.29
Manufacturing	102.90	142.92	38.89
Transportation and Utilities	100.15	142.42	42.20
Wholesale and Retail Trade	73.95	99.26	34.22
Services	65.51	92.43	41.09
Total, All Industries	89.92	122.36	36.07

Source: Ohio Bureau of Employment Services, Division of Research and Statistics.

presented in Chapter 4, for example, indicate that 40 percent of the potential CEP participants who never enrolled attended high school outside of Columbus.

Another source of population growth for the city was the annexation of areas to Columbus, extending its area from 39.4 square miles in 1950 to 116.0 square miles in 1968. Additional areas are to be annexed in the future, providing for added growth of both the city's population and its industrial base.

In sum, more than half of the increase in the population of the area (Franklin County) is attributable to net in-migration. This suggests--given the low unemployment levels--that the Columbus area is definitely capable of absorbing 1,000 or more CEP enrollees into its labor market annually without seriously affecting other present or potential workers. It must be observed, however, that the analysis has so far dealt with total employment, total earnings, and total population. Given the diversity in the Columbus labor market, it seems quite likely that workers of all types and grades might be needed. However, there are certain occupations which have been in chronic surplus (i.e., jobs for which the supply far exceeds the demand). If the CEP participant is typically trained (or otherwise qualified) to fill only such jobs for

Table 3-5

Average Weekly Earnings of Production Workers
in Columbus Metropolitan Area

Month	Manufacturing	Contract Construction	Transportation and Utilities	Wholesale and Retail Trade
September 1968	$136.03	$184.14	$139.59	$101.24
December	137.90	172.80	138.47	97.98
January 1969	134.62	175.55[a]	141.89	101.83
May	137.87	187.85	145.75	104.63
August	139.63	219.20	147.68	106.73
December	146.90	206.56	147.70	103.60
January 1970	141.10	200.32	148.23	106.96
April	139.91	211.68	145.67	108.09
August	147.17	235.46	151.62	110.84
Percentage Change September 1968 to August 1970	8.19	34.12	8.62	9.48

Source: Ohio Bureau of Employment Services, Division of Research and Statistics, Ohio Labor Market Information.

[a] Not comparable with previous figures due to change in sample composition; percentage change is January 1969 to August 1970.

which sufficient demand is lacking, the fact that the overall outlook is favorable may be of little value to those for whom no jobs appear to exist.

THE DEMAND FOR AND SUPPLY OF LOW-SKILL LABOR IN COLUMBUS

A number of theories have been advanced in recent years regarding the labor market behavior of low-skill individuals residing in the urban slums.

Table 3-6

Total Population in the
Columbus Area, 1950, 1960, and 1970

Area	Population		Average Percentage Increase	Population	Average Percentage Increase
	1950	1960		1970	
City of Columbus	375,901	471,316	2.54	539,667	1.45
Franklin County	503,410	682,962	3.57	833,249	2.20
Metropolitan Area[a]	--	754,885	--	916,228	2.14

[a] Metropolitan Area--Delaware, Franklin, and Pickaway counties after October 18, 1963.

These theories have tended to consider either the demand side of the labor market or other considerations which pertain to the supply side of the equation. Some of the observations made were virtually void of any real empirical content and thus could not be very useful in suggesting remedial action.

The Queue Theory of the Labor Market. Observations based on the hiring practices of firms suggest that employers classify potential applicants according to their productivity--which, in turn, depends on training, experience, and other variables--and hire according to the relative position of workers in the resulting queue (Mangum, 1969). Given aggregate demand, the most promising workers will be hired first, so that the less promising might remain jobless. Similarly, when aggregate demand changes, additional hiring (or firing) will proceed according to place in the queue. Thus the individuals least likely to be employed are those possessing the least skills, etc. If this theory holds, the implications are clear: either expand aggregate demand to such a point where no unemployment exists, or train the vulnerable groups so that their position in the queue will be improved. The latter implication is the one most commonly made, and it forms the basis for many of the recent retraining programs.

The problem with the queue theory is that it concentrates only on the demand side. For even if employers behave in the manner described by the queue theory--an assumption which appears to be quite plausible--there is another side to the coin, the willingness of the labor force to accept the positions offered. Thus, even with high aggregate demand some individuals may not be employed simply because they do not desire the type of jobs offered to them. This is the crux of the matter. Failure to observe the labor market from both sides can only lead to false impressions.

Other Theories of the Low-Skill Labor Market. In a report submitted to the Department of Labor on the conditions in the Boston low-skill labor market (Doeringer, 1969), the authors contend that the queue theory as originally formulated fails to explain the behavior of low-skill labor in the market. They cite instability on the job as the principal effect of the cultural and socioeconomic conditions which lead to a situation in which such labor is considered inferior in the labor market queue--which, in turn, leads to more instability. The cycle could be broken, they argue, only if these individuals were offered "primary" jobs (distinguished from "secondary" or "dead-end" jobs). Another possible explanation is given by Doeringer's Two-Queue Theory, which is essentially an argument in favor of a supply-demand relationship. That is, both employers and workers form judgments with respect to one another's desirability. Just as some applicants might be considered undesirable by some employers, so do some job seekers consider certain openings highly undesirable. Still, Doeringer's theory does not explicity regard the supply-demand relationship as the source of disequilibrium in the low-skill labor market.

Supply and Demand. Any labor market theory which is based solely on either the demand or the supply side is almost certain to be misleading unless it can be shown that the other side (supply or demand, as the case may be) is completely neutral. From both intuitive and empirical points of view it can be safely asserted that neither the demand nor the supply of labor is neutral (with respect to the other). That the two interact cannot be denied. Therefore, an explanation of the behavior in the market must include both sides. Some of the theories alluded to above make a motion in the right direction: they purport to describe both supply and demand variables and attempt to reconcile the two sides. The report mentioned above concludes that public policy should be concentrated on the demand side; that is, either induce employers to offer primary jobs to the disadvantaged, or, perhaps, let the government itself offer such jobs. Such a conclusion assumes that the supply side is to be held constant.

An entirely different approach would be to concentrate on the supply side: build a system of inducements--coercive, if necessary--such that low-skill workers will either agree to accept low-wage jobs or be trained for better ones. Best of all would be a policy impinging on both sides of the market, exerting influence on employers to eliminate excessively rigid hiring standards while at the same time inducing workers to adapt to the available jobs by whatever means are considered appropriate.

The empirical investigation of the Columbus low-skilled labor market, which follows below, is necessarily crude. Yet it serves to observe the labor market from the perspectives of both the employer and the potential employee. In this case, both the employers and the potential employees had already been subjected to some "conditioning." The former had been exposed to the appeals of the National Alliance of Businessmen and the contacts from the job development staff of the Columbus CEP. Many of the workers (CEP participants) attended the CEP two-week orientation program, which emphasizes job adjustment skills.

The Demand for Labor in Columbus

A crucial assumption of a manpower program is that there exists sufficient demand for labor of the type it supplies. To assess the demand for labor in Columbus three different (though not necessarily mutually exclusive) sources of information were used. The first was the "help wanted" advertisements in the Columbus Dispatch, Sunday editions (April 6 and October 5, 1969). Newpaper ads are an important source of labor market information, and therefore one might expect a relatively representative cross-section of job offers (demand for labor) to be given by this medium. One of the difficulties with this procedure, however, is the often ambiguous description of jobs and job requirements. Also, salaries are rarely stated in newspaper ads. Nevertheless, this procedure yielded some insight into the nature of labor demand in Columbus. The second source was provided by the Ohio Bureau of Employment Services (OBES), which publishes a quarterly report of surplus and shortage occupations. These reports represent only those jobs that are reported to or channeled through the Employment Service and may, therefore, not be as representative as newspaper ads for the entire labor market. Even so, these reports provided an additional source of labor demand conditions--and a useful one. The final source was the CEP itself. In addition to its recruitment, orienting, and counseling functions, the CEP serves as a micro-employment service, attempting to secure job orders for its clients. The CEP job-order logs served, therefore, as an additional source of information of labor demand in Columbus--especially so for the CEP group.

"Help Wanted" Newspaper Advertisements. One way to determine the demand for labor in the Columbus area was, then, to explore the number and type of jobs open to individuals. Since the main interest lay with a CEP-type worker, it was decided to partition the data in the Sunday ads into (1) those jobs which appeared to be applicable to a CEP worker (i.e., required at most a high school diploma; required no specialized training, experience, or skills; and stipulated no conditions such as car availability or others which a CEP enrollee could not be expected to satisfy); and (2) those jobs which were aplicable only to persons with attributes which made them definitely superior to any CEP enrollee. In each case, an attempt was made to classify jobs as to whether they appeared to be "inferior," "intermediate," or "superior." The definitions of these terms could hardly be considered "scientific";[2] they merely represented a judgment of what jobs could be considered inferior, superior, or intermediate. The judgment reflects the relative prestige in each of the occupations or the utility (or disutility) which a person would likely derive therefrom. This is not to say that such a preference function would be identical for all individuals, but overall the definitions appear reasonable. Finally, for each job category for which salary data were available, an average salary was computed.

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[2] See, however, O. D. Duncan, "A Socio-Economic Index for All Occupations," in A. Reiss, et al., Occupations and Social Status (New York: The Free Press, 1961), pp. 109-38, which was used as a guide.

Table 3-7 presents the Dictionary of Occupational Titles (DOT) classification of jobs which were judged not applicable to CEP enrollees. Most fall within the intermediate range, with the largest number in the clerical and sales category. Average salaries vary within each occupational group, and, as Table 3-7 clearly indicates, the variation in average salaries is most pronounced between the superior and the other two categories. In general, these results confirm what would have been expected a priori. When two jobs require the same (or similar) qualifications and training, the one which is likely to be inferior--i.e., generating greater disutility--will command the greater wage. This explains the phenomenon of higher average salaries for the inferior than the intermediate group in the April sample as the latter were likely to require little, if any, additional skills and training. (The results for the October sample cannot be used because salaries were reported only for two jobs in the inferior group.) The superior jobs provided high salaries simply because they required greater skills and training, the supply of which was more limited and the demand for which was more intense than for the other groups of jobs.

Table 3-8 presents the results of the investigation of jobs which did appear to fit within the expected skill levels of the CEP clientele. Clearly, there were by far fewer jobs available for this group than for the labor market at large, indicating the nature of the problem facing the CEP. With relatively few openings, a CEP enrollee was forced to compete with other, non-CEP persons--particularly when jobs for which there was surplus supply are considered. The analysis of the shortage-surplus reports by the OBES may help to clarify this point. Note, however, that the number of CEP-type jobs more than doubled between April and October. This could be explained by seasonal variations, but a trend toward more CEP-type jobs may have begun.

Surplus and Shortage Occupations as Reported by the Employment Service. The Ohio Bureau of Employment Services publishes a quarterly report on surplus and shortage occupations in each of the Ohio labor markets. An analysis of the reports for the last half of 1968 indicates that, on the whole, very few occupations were classified as "surplus" occupations, while for a number of occupations demand exceeded supply for many months. At the end of 1968 only four occupations were considered surplus for women; for men there were six. In general, occupations in which supply exceeded demand were in the semiskilled and unskilled occupations. For example, there appeared to be excess supply for such jobs as material handler, janitor, porter, waitress, and packer. Construction laborers were also in surplus, perhaps because of high wages and restrictive union practices.

Shortage occupations in 1969 included mostly skilled and semiskilled jobs. Thus, the demand for automobile mechanics exceeded the supply, as was the case for maintenance workers and appliance repairmen. For women, shortage occupations included practical and registered nursing, stenography, and domestic work. Few unskilled occupations were in short supply, and for those that were in short supply during one quarter or another, the shortages appeared to be corrected by the time the next OBES report was published.

A comparison of the reports for 1968 and 1969 reveals interesting changes in the relative scarcity of jobs. While managerial trainees were

Table 3-7

Demand for Skilled and/or Experienced Labor in Columbus, Ohio, April and October 1969

DOT Category	Inferior		Intermediate		Superior		Total	
	April	Oct.	April	Oct.	April	Oct.	April	Oct.
Professional, Technical, Managerial	3	--	50	11	114	119	167	130
Clerical and Sales	21	2	237	285	70	54	328	341
Service	14	3	24	63	--	17	38	83
Farming, Fisheries, and Forestry	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Processing	2	--	2	5	1	--	5	5
Machine Trades	--	--	23	66	1	--	24	66
Bench Work	1	--	1	3	--	--	2	3
Structural Work	1	--	15	41	--	3	16	44
Miscellaneous	2	--	9	14	--	3	11	17
Total	44	5	361	488	186	196	591	689
Average Weekly Salary ($)[a]	125.00	64.75	118.00	113.63	266.00	261.00		
Number	12	2	118	29	91	40		

Source: Columbus Dispatch, April 6, 1959, and October 5, 1969, "Help Wanted" Section.

[a] Based only on jobs for which salaries were reported.

scarce in 1968, they were not so in 1969. Also, whereas carpenters were in the surplus category in 1968, this was no longer true in 1969. On the other hand, several skilled occupations were in short supply in 1969 (but not in 1968), such as welder, guidance counselor, social worker, and physical therapist. Orderlies, layout men, and firemen were also considered to be in short supply.

Table 3-8

"Applicable" Job Offers for CEP-Type Workers in Columbus (April and October 1969)

Job Classification	Inferior		Intermediate		Superior		Total	
	April	Oct.	April	Oct.	April	Oct.	April	Oct.
Custodian	12	8	--	--	--	--	12	8
Kitchen	31	117	5	4	--	--	36	121
Domestic	30	68	14	2	--	--	44	70
Laborer	19	27	26	126	--	--	45	153
Manufacturing--Processing	--	--	7	--	--	--	7	--
Sales	--	--	2	13	--	--	2	13
Skilled	--	--	--	--	3	2	3	2
Total	92	220	54	145	3	2	149	367
Average Weekly Salary ($)[a]	101.00	76.55	106.00	113.84	--	--		
Number	7	11	11	18	--	--		

Source: Same as for Table 3-7.

[a] Based only on jobs for which salaries were reported.

Although the changes mentioned above are relatively few and perhaps unimportant, a thorough analysis of surplus-shortage occupations should be an integral part of labor market analysis. Changes in the distribution of job vacancies could nullify much of the apparent success of some manpower programs through orientation and retraining. But the present analysis is far from adequate. There is a need to know more about the aspirations of employers and employees alike regarding the number of jobs as well as about wages and other job conditions.

CEP Job Openings. Given the conditions in the labor market as outlined above, what types of jobs--and how many--were open to CEP enrollees? While labor market information is transmitted through many channels--friends and relatives, newspaper ads, Employment Service, and so forth (Stevens, 1968)--a major source of jobs for a CEP enrollee is the CEP itself. An investigation of the CEP job orders for the periods February 28-April 11, and August 1-September 26, 1969, revealed the following (see Table 3-9): (1) the majority of the openings were in the unskilled and semiskilled occupations providing relatively low compensation and little prestige; (2) a good many jobs were in the "clerical and sales" category--mostly for women--some of which might not be for permanent employment; (3) average weekly wages varied from about \$94 in "miscellaneous" to only \$75 in the "professional, technical, and managerial" category in the first period, and from \$103.00 to only \$70.80, respectively, for the second period. In the majority of cases, individuals in the "professional, technical, and managerial" category were sought for such positions as manager's aid or technical aid--not for responsible managerial, professional, or technical jobs. Another interesting feature of Table 3-9 is that the relationship between average wage and job-prestige appears to be inverse: the more prestigious the job the less the salary. Considering the relatively homogeneous quality of the CEP labor supply, this finding is perfectly consistent with the a priori reasoning presented above. Also, although the jobs offered directly to CEP persons were basically inferior, they appeared to provide at the very least a "minimum decency" standard of living as represented by the average weekly wage. These jobs did not seem to provide, however, for social mobility and the types of desires and expectations voiced by the disadvantaged. Whether or not subsequent job mobility, increased pay, and improved social mobility were likely to result cannot be determined at this point.

Estimating the Demand Schedule for CEP Workers

Two of the sources used above to describe the demand for low quality labor in Columbus can be used to estimate demand functions for such labor. The accepted definition of a demand schedule is one which shows how many jobs would be offered by employers at each and every wage rate. Data are available on the number of jobs offered at different wage levels from the CEP job orders and the newspaper ads. In each case the jobs offered must first be arranged by salary. However, this indicates only the number of new jobs opened whenever the wage changes (e.g., from \$64 to \$66 per week). But an employer who is willing to hire at a given wage (e.g., \$66) would also be willing to hire the same individual at a lesser wage (\$64). Hence the demand for laborers at the lower wage (\$64) includes not only the number of jobs offered at that wage but also all jobs which carry higher wages. Consequently, to get the demand schedule for CEP workers, one must calculate the number of jobs available at a given wage rate or any higher wage.

Symbolically, let n_j be the number of new jobs available when the wage rate is W_j. We can calculate N_i from the following formula:

$$N_i = \sum_{j=i}^{K} n_j \qquad (1)$$

In formula (1) it is assumed that there are k wage levels, and that $W_k >$

Table 3-9

CEP Job Openings and Average Wages,
Two Periods in 1969

DOT Category	Number of Openings		Average Weekly Wage	
	Feb. 28-Apr. 11	Aug. 1-Sept. 26	Feb. 28-Apr. 11	Aug. 1-Sept. 26
Professional, Technical, and Managerial	9	6	$74.94	$70.80
Clerical and Sales	61	21	77.38	85.70
Service	16	30	92.53	70.04
Processing	14	51	80.82	84.93
Machine Trade	28	23	87.79	84.20
Bench Work	22	15	88.69	86.43
Structural Work	35	18	77.60	93.47
Miscellaneous	43	60	93.95	103.11
Prestige Rating				
Superior	1	2	60.00	71.60
Intermediate	60	107	80.40	88.06
Inferior	170	115	85.44	88.62

Source: "CEP Open Job Orders," February 28-April 11, and August 1-September 26, issued weekly.

$W_{k-1} > \ldots W_2 > W_1$. Then N_i is the cumulative number of jobs demanded when the wage is W_i or higher.

The distribution of N_D (number of workers demanded) with respect to intervals of W_D (unit labor cost) for both the CEP job orders and the newspaper ads is given in Table 3-10. The construction of N_D in formula (1) virtually guarantees that the relationship between W_D and N_D will be inverse. But further analysis of the data could still yield some insight into the nature of the demand for disadvantaged workers.

Table 3-10

Demand for CEP Workers, Two Periods in 1969

	Number of Cumulative Jobs (N_D)[a]			
	CEP Job Orders		Newspaper Ads	
Wage (W_D)	Feb. 28–Apr. 11	Aug. 1–Sept. 26	April 6	October 5
\$125 and up	2	20	4	8
115-124	17	28	5	12
105-114	45	47	6	13
95-104	102	67	11	14
85-94	185	100	12	16
75-84	278	163	15	18
65-74	358	204	15	22
64 and below	399	224	18	29

[a] For the definition of N_D see text, equation (1).

Let the demand function be as follows:

$$W_D = f_D(N_D) \tag{2}$$

The meaning of equation (2) is simply that the demand-wage, W_D, is related to the number of jobs offered, N_D, by a function symbolized by f_D. Since it is known that $\partial W_D/\partial N_D<0$[3] the main focus will be on the shape of the function.

CEP Job Orders. Several hypotheses about the shape of the demand function were examined. Using least-squares regression analysis it was found that the best form for equation (2) is a quadratic equation of the form:

$$W_D = a + b_1 N_D + b_2 {N_D}^2$$

where $b_1<0$ while $b_2>0$. As can be observed from Table 3-11, both b_1 and b_2 have the proper signs and are statistically significant. Further, the value of the corrected R^2 is very high, indicating that the fit is quite good.

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[3] Changes in N_D are inversely associated with changes in W_D.

Table 3-11

Demand Equations for CEP Workers, Two Periods in 1969[a]

Equation	Data	Intercept	N_D	N_D^2	$\overline{R}^2$	F	SEE	No. of Observations	Range of W_D
I	Job Orders, Feb. 28-Apr. 1	120.34 (1.94)	-0.2372 (0.0269)	0.000231 (0.000068)	0.907	239.41	6.545	50	\$52-\$152
II	Job Orders Aug. 1-Sept. 26	133.02 (2.41)	-0.6060 (0.0565)	0.00134 (0.00024)	0.929	324.04	5.883	50	\$46-\$150
III	"Help Wanted" Ads April 6, 1969	186.37 (9.31)	-12.2426 (2.3271)	0.2782 (0.1198)	0.917	78.68	11.560	18	\$40-\$188
IV	"Help Wanted" Ads October 5, 1969	194.57 (5.11)	-8.2944 (0.8163)	0.1025 (0.0271)	0.965	325.00	8.336	29	\$20-\$200

[a] Dependent variable is wage (W_D). Coefficients are listed with standard error (in parentheses). All coefficients are statistically significant at the α value of 0.05 on less. $\overline{R}^2$= coefficient of determination corrected for degrees of freedom. SEE = standard error of estimate.

To be sure, there are differences between demand functions estimated for the periods (equations I and II). These differences indicate that neither should be used for precise predictive purposes. Yet the general shape of the demand function appears to be corroborated by both equations.

The meaning of the parabolic demand functions is as follows. For jobs which carried a high wage there was little demand. (Only 7 percent of the jobs offered were in the wage range of $110 and above--in the first period. In the second period, 20 percent were in this range.) Similarly, there was relatively little demand for jobs with very low wages (4 percent and 3 percent of the jobs for the first and second periods, respectively, were in the wage range of $66 and below). Most of the jobs offered were in the intermediate wage range. Consequently, only a few CEP enrollees could expect to be offered high-paying jobs. At the same time, only very few would be offered extremely low wages. The majority would be offered jobs in the wage range of $67-110 per week.

Newspaper Ads. Perhaps the major finding of this investigation is that a very similar demand function is obtained when the "help wanted" advertisements are analyzed (see Table 3-11, equations III and IV). Although there are, once more, significant differences between the two equations--as well as between these two and the former two demand functions--the general features of the parabolic demand curve appear to be substantiated. A realistic appraisal of these demand equations shows that it is not the lack of jobs for low-skilled persons that results in problems of manpower utilization. Rather, it is the fact that the CEP participants desire but cannot usually obtain higher-paying jobs that creates the major dilemma. The jobs offered to CEP enrollees through the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB), upon which the CEP job orders are based, do not appear to be in higher wage ranges than those found in the "help wanted" advertisements. (Still, these NAB jobs do facilitate the placement of hard-core persons in such jobs whereas they would probably encounter many difficulties if they tried to obtain jobs through ads.)

Summary of the Demand Studies

The three sources of estimated demand for CEP workers appear to corroborate one another and the contention that there was sufficient demand for workers with the characteristics of CEP participants in the Columbus labor market. Note, however, that to indicate that demand is sufficient is not to claim that it is plentiful. Moreover, analysis of the OBES surplus-shortage reports indicated the possibility that changes in the demand for certain occupations could occur over a relatively short period of time, implying great vulnerability on the part of the newly hired CEP person. Again, the long-range success of the CEP hinges on continued demand for CEP-type occupations--unless the CEP clients are trained for new jobs for which demand is growing.

Supply of CEP Labor in Columbus

Demand analysis, by itself, is interesting, but certainly not complete. One must also consider the supply of workers for such jobs. The present analysis is limited to the supply of CEP workers. Even though there are other workers whose labor market activities will affect the type of jobs available to CEP enrollees, some insights can still be obtained from this analysis.

Two alternative ways of exploring the question of the supply of CEP workers in Columbus were utilized. The first was based upon the CEP job order response, the second upon interviews with CEP participants.

In both cases data were available that indicated the number of individuals who were willing to offer their services for each and every wage level. The definition of a supply schedule[4] necessitates the calculation of a cumulative number of persons who offer their services at each wage or at any lower one. Suppose that for each wage, W_j, there were a corresponding number of people, n_j, who would offer their services only if the wage rate were at least W_j. Then, if $W_k > W_{k-1} > \ldots > W_1$, the cumulative number, N_i (for each W_i), is given by:

$$N_i = \sum_{j=1}^{i} n_j \qquad (3)$$

For instance, if at $W_1 = \$64$ $n_1 = 4$, then $N_1 = 4$. If at $W_2 = \$66$ $n_2 = 1$, then $N_2 = n_1 + n_2 = 5$. Similarly, if at $W_3 = \$68$ n_3 is 2, then $N_3 = n_1 + n_2 + n_3 = N_2 + n_3 = 7$.

The supply function could be represented symbolically by:

$$W_S = f_S(N_S) \qquad (4)$$

The meaning of equation (4) is straightforward: the supply-wage, W_S, is related to the number of individuals who offer themselves for a job, N_S, by the functional form f_S. In this case it is assured, by construction, that $\partial W_S / \partial N_S > 0$[5]. The remainder of the section will thus explore the possible shape of the supply function.

Job-Order Response. The lists of CEP job orders were used by the CEP as their primary source of job referrals. A tally of the results of such referrals was made weekly. The job order responses were examined for the two periods mentioned above in connection with the CEP job orders. Some ambiguity exists here since it is not possible to tell whether individuals who did not report, did not accept, or were not hired for some reason regarded the wage offered as a sufficient incentive for employment. To avoid making possibly erroneous assumptions, all but those who were actually hired were ignored. For the latter group it can be safely assumed that they were willing to accept a job at the given wage or higher. The supply schedule for both periods, for chosen wage intervals, is given in Table 3-12.

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[4] The supply of labor, N_S, for any wage rate, W_S, is given by the number of individuals who will offer labor services only when the wage is exactly W_S, plus the number of individuals who would offer labor services at wages lower than W_S. This is so because all workers who will offer labor services at wages lower than W_S will also offer labor services at W_S.

[5] Changes in N_S are directly associated with changes in W_S.

Least squares regression analysis was also used in an attempt to estimate the supply function (equation 4). The results are reported in Table 3-13. From the table (equations I and II), it can be seen that the linear form, generally given by

$$W_S = a + bN_S$$

provides good fit for the data. Other forms, including a quadratic equation and a double logarithmic formulation, were found to be inferior to equations I and II of Table 3-13. This indicates that actual labor market behavior by CEP enrollees was less extreme than might have been expected. The distribution of jobs accepted by the enrollees is quite even across all wage levels.

There are notable differences between the two supply functions (equations I and II). First, the W-intercept is $66 for the first period but only $54 for the second. Moreover, the slope of the line is about four times greater in the second period than in the first. These differences illustrate that neither of these could be used to predict an exact supply relationship for CEP workers. Yet both indicate that the supply curve is likely to be a straight line with a W-intercept somewhere between $50 and $65, and a slope of between 0.3 and 1.2.

CEP Questionnaire. The second source of information for constructing a supply function for disadvantaged workers was the enrollees' answers to the question: "How much per week do you think would be a satisfactory [wage] rate?" This was asked only of respondents who had previously answered that they were dissatisfied with their present rates. Their answers provided the necessary data for developing a supply schedule as described above. The distribution by wage intervals is given in Table 3-12. Further, regression analysis was conducted to estimate the "best" form of the supply function (equation 4). The equation giving best fit to the data is equation III of Table 3-13. The form of the equation is:

$$W_S = a + bN_S^2$$

This form suggests that, at lower wages, very few of the CEP enrollees would have desired to work; only a few would have expected very high wages; and the majority would have offered their labor services in the intermediate range, the distribution by wage being quite even. In this case, about 3 percent of the respondents would have offered their services at wages less than $72 per week; 12 percent expected wages as high as $150 or more; and 85 percent of the respondents expected to earn somewhere between $75 and $150.

Table 3-12

Supply of CEP Workers, Two Periods in 1969[a]

Wage (W_S)	Cumulative Number of Individuals (N_S)		
	CEP Job Order Response		Interviews
	Feb. 28- Apr. 11	Aug. 1- Sept. 26	Nov. 1968- Aug. 1969
$125 and up	165	63	200
115-124	163	61	106
105-114	150	40	94
95-104	105	36	67
85-94	72	33	42
75-84	27	18	20
65-74	11	9	9
64 and below	4	6	7

[a] For the definition of N_S see text, equation (3).

There are two basic differences between the CEP job response estimates and those for the interview. In the former, the W range was between $64 and $152; in the latter it was between $50 and $300. This suggests that some individuals would have been satisfied only with quite high salaries, while, in fact, no such salaries were offered in the Columbus area for labor of this type. Although it was not possible to match individual response to job referrals, it is very likely that many individuals who voiced a desire for higher wages did in fact accept lower wages. If this is true, the data from the interviews do not qualify for constructing a pure supply function. Yet the questionnaire may give a relation which is proportional to the true supply curve.

If this last assertion is assumed to hold, the shape of the supply function produced by the response to the questionnaire is of some importance. The suggested shape of the supply function produced from the questionnaire is different from the one obtained from the job referral data. This difference might be reconciled by the fact that no data revealing the preferences of those desiring higher wages could possibly be forthcoming from the job referral response since the highest wage offered was $152. Therefore, the supply function for the job referrals holds only for the W range up to $150. In that range, the two functions agree rather closely, in form if not in substance.

Table 3-13

Supply Equations of CEP Workers, 1969[a]

Equation	Data	Intercept	N_S	N_S^2	$\bar{R}^2$	F	SEE	No. of Observations[b]	Range of W_S
I	Job Order Response Feb. 28-Apr. 11	66.29 (1.98)	0.2992 (0.0180)		0.886	274.16	6.46	36	\$64-\$152
II	Job Order Response Aug. 1-Sept. 26	54.21 (3.62)	1.1926 (0.0949)		0.891	157.66	7.50	20	\$64-\$150
III	CEP Interview	68.80 (4.34)		0.00374 (0.00021)	0.864	295.59	21.03	47	\$50-\$300

[a] The dependent variable is W_S. For explanation of symbols see footnote to Table 3-11. All coefficients are statistically significant.

[b] The number of observations is given by the number of different wage levels. This is less than the number of individuals surveyed.

The supply function produced by the interview data, therefore, seems to reflect more accurately the "correct" shape of the supply function of CEP-type workers.

Demand and Supply: A Synthesis

The main function of any program to alleviate unemployment is to match the demand for and supply of workers. The analysis presented above of the demand and supply is far from perfect, yet it permits some interesting observations. First, the total number of jobs demanded at the time periods under investigation does not seem to be short of the number of jobs sought by CEP workers. As others have pointed out (see, for example, Doeringer, 1969), there is always some excess demand (i.e., job vacancies) for low-paying jobs. But the number of jobs is not really the issue. What matters is how many jobs are available in intermediate or superior occupations (from a "prestige" point of view), and, of course, how much these jobs pay.

This supply-demand analysis seems to suggest a rather optimistic picture of the labor market for CEP participants in Columbus. Only few of the jobs offered had extremely low wages; and these jobs were of the type usually left unfilled in any event. While no jobs were in high W ranges, many offered reasonably good wages. Those individuals who expect the CEP to provide them with high-quality jobs--those which usually require higher educational qualifications, experience, etc.--are sure to be disappointed. But this is not really the purpose of the CEP. The purpose is to give the hard-core unemployed a chance to find suitable employment, and the data suggest that this can be accomplished.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter, which presents an overview of the economic conditions in the Columbus area, examines the demand for and supply of labor in Columbus, and studies trends in population, employment, and earnings. The general impressions gained from this review are favorable. The area, as examined during the period covered by this study, appeared to have the basic conditions needed for potential success of the CEP, i.e., ample demand for labor, and economic growth which would insure increased labor demand in the future. It is noted, however, that job demand for unskilled workers was substantially less than for skilled, experienced, and trained labor. A long-run solution to the poverty problem will require not only placement of CEP clients in any job, but also training and educating them so that they can obtain jobs which have potential for future advancement.

Chapter 4

THE TARGET POPULATION

The target population of the Columbus Concentrated Employment Program was the residents of the Model Cities neighborhood. Some of the characteristics of this neighborhood were described in Chapter 1. The data presented depicted an area with a high concentration of people with poor education, considerable illness, living in inferior housing, frequently unemployed, with low income, and often receiving welfare assistance. There should be little wonder that this area was selected for a CEP. Yet when one reads a description such as this it is very easy to think in terms of stereotypes and forget that there are individuals involved who vary considerably. This chapter, representing an attempt to redress this tendency, stresses the differences between the characteristics of the individuals who participated in the Columbus CEP and the common stereotype that the label "hard-core unemployed" frequently evokes.

The CEP concept was largely based on an assumption that the "hard-core" could not be served by traditional institutions. There was a consensus that the individuals who could not find employment in the labor market of the late 1960's needed special help. The hard-core were believed to be handicapped by multiple problems that not only limited their employability but also restricted their efforts to seek help for themselves. Some of the older hard-core unemployed were thought to be defeated and discouraged by the repeated failures they had experienced in the traditional institutions of society. Such continued defeats were assumed to lead to a lack of self-esteem and a sense of powerlessness. The younger unemployed were believed to be alienated and bitter about the discrepancy between what society promised and what it actually delivered. Young people confronted by this discrepancy were thought to adjust to it by setting unattainable vocational goals. These would allow them to justify their unemployment to themselves through the rationalization, "If I cannot have the kind of job I want, I do not want any at all."

To test the validity of these assumptions several questions were asked of the CEP participants and two comparison groups to determine how they perceived themselves and their situations in life, and especially how they felt about previous jobs they had held and the kinds of jobs they would like to have. The investigators were aware of the difficulties of obtaining the kinds of data they desired. The history of attitudinal and personality measurement is in large part an account of attempts to overcome the distortions inherent in an individual's report of his perceptions of his own psychological states. Many biases, some deliberate but most unconscious, intervene whenever an individual reports on his own condition to another person. The investigators were, however, also aware of the criticism that has been directed at traditional instruments because of the white, middle-class bias inherent in their development. Thus, the investigators were faced with a choice between questions with face validity but with no controls for bias or more sophisticated instruments that might have been inappropriate for the population, and chose the former. The face valid questions can at least be considered to measure how the respondents report themselves to others in face-to-face interviews.

The characteristics of three main groups are discussed in this chapter: CEP participants, potential participants who never took part (ex antes), and co-workers. The participants are usually divided for analysis into completers and dropouts and those who were employed and unemployed at the time of their follow-up interviews. These groups are defined in greater detail in Chapter 1, which also describes the three points in time at which data were collected: (1) pretest, before the subjects took part in the program; (2) post-program, an average of about two weeks after CEP termination; and (3) follow-up, about nine to ten months after CEP termination. For reasons noted in Chapter 1 data were not obtained from the same subjects at each point, although there was a longitudinal subsample. The data gathered at pretest and post-program focused on identifying why participants and potential participants had varying degrees of success in CEP; those obtained at follow-up focused on why people had varying degrees of success on the job.

In this chapter the basic demographic data are presented on the various groups and classifications of participants. The one demographic variable that was clearly predictive was sex--female participants were more likely to be employed following CEP than males. The results from the questions aimed at general outlook on life and vocational preferences generally contradict the assumptions concerning the CEP population. Most of the participants did not present themselves as discouraged and defeated or as desiring unattainable jobs. In contrast, the answers of most of the respondents seemed to reflect realistic appraisals of their conditions in life and of the options available to them.

The answers of potential participants who never actually took part in CEP (the ex antes) are given special attention. The most surprising finding from these analyses is how similar these potential participants were to the actual participants.

Following the ex ante discussion is a section on former job experiences and present and future job expectations. Here again the similarities among the various groups outweigh the differences. It is apparent, however, that a sizable proportion of the CEP participants had uncrystallized vocational values and goals. The next section deals with general outlook on life and the data clearly refute the assumptions about the CEP participants as discouraged, defeated, and powerless. The vital importance of employment to general outlook is underscored. The final section summarizes the major findings presented in the chapter.

BASIC INFORMATION ON RESPONDENTS

Demographic Data

The Columbus CEP was, by design, directed primarily to young males. The descriptive information on the basic groupings used for analysis (Table 4-1) shows that males were dominant in all groups, expecially among the dropouts and the unemployed. The co-worker group, which did not take part in CEP, was the only one in which the males did not have at least a two to one majority. The co-workers also differed from the other groups in being older, having a greater proportion married, and--typically--having completed more years of school. All of these differences were statistically significant at the .05 level or less except that the co-workers were not significantly older than the dropouts who were interviewed at follow-up. The racial composition of the co-worker group also differed from the others in that 14 percent of the co-workers were white. Among the participants and ex antes whites represented only about 2 percent.

The sex of the respondent was the one item of information obtained at the time participants entered the program that was found to be related to their employment status at follow-up. Females constituted a significantly larger segment of the employed group (31%) than of the unemployed (19%), ($x^2 = 4.17$ $p < .05$).

Although, as noted in Chapter 2, the definition of a poverty income depends upon many factors, it is clear from the mean incomes reported at intake that the CEP participants and ex antes would qualify. Approximately three-fourths of the respondents reported incomes below $2,000, and almost one-half reported incomes below $1,000. It should be noted that these figures were obtained from the MA-101 forms completed by the participants during CEP intake. Only about one-third of the ex antes completed the forms, and this information was not requested from co-workers.

The participants also fit the "hard-core" definition in their reports of weeks unemployed during the twelve months preceding contact with CEP. On the average all groups were unemployed over half the year. About one-third claimed they were unemployed forty weeks or more, and about two-thirds reported twenty or more weeks of unemployment.

The mean ages reported in Table 4-1 are fairly young. The medians are two and one-half years or more lower than the means. This indicates that while there was a relatively wide range of ages the

Table 4-1

Basic Descriptive Characteristics of Respondents by Program Results and Employment Status at Follow-up

Characteristics	Post-program			Follow-up				
	Comp.[a]	Drop.	Ex ante	Comp.	Drop.	Emp.[b]	Unemp.	Co-worker
Years of age (mean)	25.6	26.3	26.3	27.1	31.3	27.5	29.9	32.1
Dependents (mean)	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.4	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.6
School grades completed (mean)	10.5	10.2	10.6	10.4	10.2	10.6	10.1	11.4
12 months preceding CEP								
Total income (mean)	$1,488	$1,435	$1,277	$1,544	$1,563	$1,612	$1,487	NA
Weeks unemployed (mean)	29.0	29.5	29.4	30.1	32.8	29.9	32.4	NA
Percentage male	66	80	73	74	79	69	81	57
Percentage married	26	22	28	29	35	31	32	51
Base number	295	93	211	238	159	200	206	147

NA = Not ascertained.

[a] Comp.--CEP completer; Drop.--CEP dropout.

[b] Emp.--Employed at time of follow-up interview.
Unemp.--Unemployed at time of follow-up interview.

lower ages were more heavily represented. Despite the relative youth of the respondents approximately three-fourths of them did not complete high school. The ratio of school dropouts to graduates in the CEP population was about three to one.

The average General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB) scores on the general, verbal, and numerical aptitude scales indicate why many of the participants had difficulty in school. These scales are the ones most closely related to school performance. The mean score for the participants on these scales was about 80, indicating that, on the average, the CEP participants rank at about the 16th percentile of the national GATB norms. That is, 84 percent of the general working population score higher than the average CEP participant. Even allowing for the possibility of some cultural bias in these measures, it seems likely that the intellectual ability of the CEP participants was below the average of the general population. There were no significant differences among the groups on these scales. The ex ante average was based on only twenty-four scores, for few of these individuals continued with CEP long enough to take the tests and no scores were available for the co-workers.

Most of the respondents were thus handicapped educationally and perhaps intellectually. A significant percentage also had physical disabilities. The following figures were obtained from the participants who completed the intake forms, and once again only about one-third of the ex antes are represented: 11 percent of the completers, 8 percent of the dropouts, and 16 percent of the ex antes reported physical handicaps.

While only about one-quarter of the participants were married, about half reported they were responsible for dependents. Because the averages shown in Table 4-1 include each respondent himself as a dependent, these averages reflect 1.2 to 1.6 dependents in addition to the respondent.

The main generalization that can be drawn from these data is that the participant groups were much more alike than they were different, no matter how they were analyzed. This is perhaps not surprising, considering that all were drawn from the same area of the same city, all were defined as hard-core unemployed, and all were in a situation where they responded to CEP recruitment--at least to the degree that they talked with a recruiter and agreed to visit the CEP offices. The sample was thus highly self-selected. What is somewhat surprising, however, is that the ex antes, who never actually became involved in CEP, were so similar to the respondents who did participate. The next section explores in greater detail other characteristics that were found for the ex antes.

Prospective Participants Who Never Enrolled

The previous section showed that the ex antes tended to be rather similar in major demographic characteristics to the participants. On the assumption that they might differ in their appraisals of themselves and of their chances for some kind of success in life, the questions shown in Tables 4-2 to 4-4 were asked. Their answers show that, although most of the ex antes were not exactly happy with conditions in their lives, neither did their situations appear to be extremely unhappy or hopeless. Their major source of dissatisfaction was the lack of things they wanted and needed.

Additional questions were asked of the ex antes to get some understanding of their attitudes toward work and possible training programs. They were asked what kinds of jobs they had held since leaving high school and what some of their reasons had been for leaving them. The ex antes averaged 26 years old and had completed only 10.6 years of school. It is reasonable to assume that they would have been available for about eight years of employment. They estimated, however, that they had held an average of only 5.3 jobs since leaving high school. These jobs were mainly in service, production, construction, clerical, and sales occupational categories. Their estimates did not include the day labor in which many of them had engaged; such single days of employment were not considered regular jobs.

The reasons they gave for leaving former jobs were mainly attributed to themselves. They stated such reasons as dissatisfaction with pay (23%); leaving to get a better job or to return to school (16%); unattractive job conditions (10%); and sickness or geographic moves (9%). Only 18 percent claimed they had been laid off previous jobs, and only 3 percent reported being fired.

Because these percentages represent reports of recalled reasons and thus are prone to a variety of distorting influences, they should not be interpreted literally. They undoubtedly reflect the respondents' rationalizations much more than they reflect reality. Nevertheless, they are interesting in that even these respondents--workers with very peripheral attachment to work--saw themselves in retrospect as controlling the events in their vocational lives. There was little tendency to blame their unemployment on factors over which they had no control. Pay, it might be argued, is a factor that the individual only controls to the degree he decides to accept or reject it, and many of the respondents reported leaving jobs because of too little pay. It should not be inferred, however, that the respondents expected high wages. When they were asked the lowest amount for which they would work, the average was $81 per week or approximately $2 per hour for a forty-hour week. This was lower than the prevailing wages for jobs listed with the Columbus CEP.

The ex ante respondents were also presented with a list of fourteen training programs and asked to rate the likelihood that they would take each one on a five-point scale ranging from very unlikely to very likely. After they had rated each job, they were asked to re-examine the list and choose the programs they were least likely and most likely to take. The responses of the male ex antes are shown in Table 4-5. This table is limited to male respondents because the training programs included in the list were designed primarily for male occupations.

Table 4-2

Reasons Ex Antes Not Satisfied with the Way Things Were Going

Reasons	%	
Not satisfied	56	
Deficiencies in present environment (money, jobs, housing)		44
Personal problems (illness, family)		4
Negative evaluation of self (police record, lack of education, job skills)		4
Dissatisfied because of future hopes		3
Negative evaluation of society		1
Satisfied	31	
Not ascertained	13	
Total	100	
Number	211	

Table 4-3

Ex Antes Who Felt Life Was Passing Them By

Reasons	%	
Life passing you by	34	
Deficiencies in present environment (money, jobs, housing)		16
Negative evaluation of self (police record, lack of education, job skills)		8
Dissatisfied because of future hopes		4
Negative evaluation of society		4
Personal problems (illness, family)		2
Life not passing by	48	
Not ascertained	19	
Total	100	
Number	211	

Table 4-4

Ex Antes Who Felt If They Worked Hard They Would Have Something to Show for It Later in Their Lives

	%
Yes, will have something	58
Undecided, do not know	17
No, will have nothing	14
Not ascertained	11
Total	100
Number	211

Table 4-5

Ranks of Mean Ratings and Most and Least Preferred Possible Training Programs among Ex Ante Males

Program	Rating		Most		Least	
	$\bar{X}$	rank	%	rank	%	rank
Electrician apprentice	3.3	1	13	2	1	11.5
Recreation attendant	3.3	2	8	5	--	13.5
Carpenter apprentice	3.1	3	12	3	1	11.5
Auto body repairman	3.1	4	14	1	5	6
Printer apprentice	3.0	5	5	8	--	13.5
Social work aide	2.9	6	9	4	4	8
Bank teller	2.9	7	5	8	3	10
Bus driver	2.7	8	7	6	7	5
Retail sales clerk	2.6	9	4	10.5	4	8
Auto salesman	2.6	10	1	14	4	8
Hospital attendant	2.5	11	4	10.5	11	2.5
Bookkeeper	2.5	12	5	8	8	4
Landscape gardener	2.5	13	2	13	11	2.5
Short-order cook	2.1	14	3	12	33	1
Not ascertained[a]	10%		9%		9%	
Number	153		153		153	

[a] Excluded from calculations of ranks and means.

The programs listed in Table 4-5 were selected to reflect three basic occupational dimensions: blue collar versus white collar, active versus sedentary, and low versus middle socioeconomic status. Several unexpected relationships were found. For example, no one program was a particular favorite. The highest mean ranking, 3.3, is only slightly above the undecided point, and the program selected as most likely to be taken was chosen by only 14 percent of the respondents. In general, however, the skilled trades were clearly most favored, and occupations with which the respondents could be expected to be more familiar--traditionally low skill, low status jobs--were least favored. Short-order cook, for example, was cited as least preferred by a third of the respondents. White collar, higher status jobs, such as bank teller, bookkeeper, and retail sales clerk, were not particularly popular. Some CEP administrators believed their typical participant fit the stereotype of the street hustler--the fast-talking confidence man. If he were, the occupation that was most closely akin was the stereotype of the auto salesman, but training for this type of occupation was also low in popularity.

The rank order of mean ratings agreed substantially with the rank order of the percentages choosing most and least likely training programs. The rank order correlation between the means and most likely percentages was .83 and between the means and least likely percentages, -.88. The negative correlation indicates an inverse order of association. That is, the programs with the highest mean ratings had the lowest proportion of respondents citing them as the least liked.

The results in Table 4-5 are contrary to many commonly held beliefs about the hard-core unemployed. Their rejection of the kinds of traditional lower class occupations which are frequently held by blacks suggests one of the reasons why these respondents were hard-core unemployed--they were unwilling to accept the kinds of jobs available to them. Even though they rejected these jobs, their occupational aspirations did not appear unrealistic. The most frequently preferred occupations were skilled trades, which certainly seemed attainable. The rankings of the white collar occupations represented in the list also failed to suggest any strong perference for "clean" occupations. In general the preferences shown in Table 4-5 seem to indicate rational and feasible occupational aspirations.

It was suggested above that one reason for the ex antes' unemployment was their unwillingness to accept the kind of jobs available to them. The interviewers were selected from the same population as the respondents, and in some cases knew them personally or had access to second-hand knowledge about them. These interviewers were asked to make an assessment of the reasons for unemployment of each respondent they interviewed. The reasons offered by the interviewers are presented in Table 4-6. Of the reasons they suggested, the social and educational handicaps seem most susceptible to CEP intervention.

Another frequent assumption about peripheral workers is that they have a variety of illegal and quasi-legal ways of obtaining money. The interviewers were asked if they had any information, either from the interview or other sources, about nonwork income available to ex antes. The sources that were reported are listed in Table 4-7.

Table 4-6

Assessment by Interviewers of Reasons for Ex Antes' Unemployment

Reasons	%
Personal characteristics (temper, dislikes work, rejects low pay)	22
Social, educational handicaps (lack of education, jail record, age)	18
Physical handicaps, illness, pregnancy	7
Situational restraints, children	7
Addiction: alcohol, drugs	6
Nothing, no perceived restraint	13
Not ascertained	27
Total	100
Number	211

Table 4-7

Interviewer's Knowledge of Sources of Nonwork Income Available to Ex Antes

Source	%
Lives with or kept by others (relatives or men), support payments	12
Illegal activities: hustling, drugs, prostitution, robbery	11
Support from agency: insurance, welfare, disability	8
Others	2
None, to interviewer's knowledge	54
Not ascertained	13
Total	100
Number	211

The interviewers either had no knowledge or failed to report it for two out of three respondents. In those cases where they had information, illegal activities of one sort or another represented about one-third of the nonwork sources of income.

Such is the picture of the ex antes, the potential participants who never enrolled, which was obtained from their interviews. Considerably at variance with the usual stereotype of the street hustler, it is, rather, a description of a young man with limited work experience who rejects the dead-end jobs available to him but who desires employment offering decent pay and reasonable opportunity. To explore further what such jobs would be like, several questions concerning previous jobs and job aspirations were asked of all respondents--CEP participants, ex antes, and co-workers. The next section considers the responses to these questions.

FORMER JOBS AND JOB GOALS

Former Jobs: Liked and Disliked

Most of the respondents had held several jobs. Their work careers were characterized by a series of short-term jobs interspersed with periods of unemployment. It was somewhat surprising, then, when asked if they had held one job they "liked a lot more than the others" and one they had "disliked more than the others," that only about half answered yes to either question (Table 4-8). It is even more surprising, considering the generally

Table 4-8

Respondents Who Had Held Jobs They Especially Liked or Disliked, after Program and at Follow-up

Job Experiences	Post-Program			Follow-up		
	Comp.	Drop.	Ex-ante	Comp.	Drop.	Co-wk
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Held jobs especially liked	46	40	47	59	52	58
Held jobs especially disliked	42	25	38	49	36	32
Number	295	93	211	237	159	146

undesirable jobs they had held, that even fewer mentioned those they disliked than those they liked. Comparing the post-program and follow-up responses of the completers and dropouts, it appears that the months after CEP contributed to a crystallization of likes and dislikes. Because of the difference in group composition, however, this inference is not completely valid. The effects of employment on vocational attitudes are discussed in the section on present and future desires.

The kinds of jobs named as especially liked and disliked are shown by grouped occupational classification in Table 4-9. The table indicates a clustering in the service and production jobs, with white collar, primarily clerical, jobs often being mentioned as best liked. An examination of the actual job titles reveals the limited kinds--as distinct from number--of jobs the respondents had held. The socioeconomic index (Duncan, 1961) averages best reflect the limited range in the quality of jobs the respondents had held. The difference in average index scores between the liked and disliked jobs is about ten points for each group of respondents, but both averages are toward the lower end of the scale. Representative occupations in the upper 20's are office boy, auto mechanic, meat cutter, and various semiskilled operative jobs. Jobs in the high teens and lower 20's include truck driver, bartender, practical nurse, watchman, and operatives in "dirty" occupations such as basic metals. Immediately after the program there were no significant differences among the group averages, but at follow-up the co-workers' means were higher than those of the others for both the liked and disliked jobs. This measure, as well as many others presented in the report, suggests that the co-workers enjoyed slightly better work experiences than the CEP participants.

The socioeconomic index of a job is correlated with many other aspects such as pay, responsibility, amount of freedom, and, of course, prestige. Even though the respondents held many jobs, most of them seem to have been rather similar in what they offered a worker. This may explain why more respondents could not specify jobs they clearly liked or disliked. Apparently for about half of the respondents all of their jobs were very similar with respect to the degree of satisfaction offered.

The factors that caused the respondents to like and dislike jobs were fairly uniform across groups. The nature of the work itself and social aspects (co-workers and supervisors) were cited about equally (34% to 40%) by the former participants during the follow-up interviews. In the earlier post-program interviews, the work itself had been mentioned more often. Somewhat surprisingly, the co-workers mentioned pay more than twice as often (19% to 7%) as the former participants as a reason for disliking certain jobs and considerably more often (17% to 10%) as a reason for liking others. It might be assumed that the more regular employment of the co-workers would make pay somewhat less important, but this did not seem to be the case.

Table 4-9

Occupational Categories of Jobs Especially Liked and Disliked after Program and at Follow-up

DOT Category	Post-Program						Follow-up					
	Completer		Dropout		Ex-ante		Completer		Dropout		Co-worker	
	Like	Dis.	Like	Dis.	Like	Dis.	Like	Dis.	Like	Dis.	Like	Dis.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Production[a]	27	23	25	4	21	13	27	40	26	28	27	36
Service	18	50	29	35	32	37	27	21	28	33	29	30
Structural	5	10	5	8	10	16	17	11	9	11	5	9
White Collar[b]	32	7	28	22	25	10	21	9	23	5	27	19
Miscellaneous	6	4	--	--	5	2	8	18	15	13	12	6
Not ascertained[c]	13	6	14	30	6	21	--	--	--	11	--	--
Mean SES Index	29	19	28	21	25	16	25	17	25	13	32	23
Base Number	137	123	37	23	99	80	139	109	82	54	85	47

[a] Processing, machine trades, bench work.

[b] Professional, technical, managerial, clerical, sales.

[c] Not included in calculation of mean SES index.

Best Paying Jobs Ever Held

Further information on the importance of pay was obtained during the follow-up interviews from a question on the best paying jobs the respondents had ever held. On this question, in contrast to those concerning best and least liked jobs, over 90 percent named specific jobs. The types of jobs which had been the most lucrative were found to vary significantly among groups, as Table 4-10 illustrates. While the greatest proportion of each group had found a production job to be the best paying, more co-workers relative to either group of CEP participants reported their best paying jobs were in white collar or service occupations. Conversely, more of the CEP participants had been best paid for structural work.

Table 4-10

Mean SES Indexes, Salaries, Tenures, and Types of Best Paying Jobs Reported by Percentages of Completers, Dropouts, and Co-workers

DOT Category	CEP Completers	CEP Dropouts	Co-workers
	%	%	%
Production[a]	42	38	38
Service	15	19	25
Structural work	22	16	11
White collar[b]	10	13	17
Miscellaneous	11	14	9
Means			
SES Index	20.5	20.8	26.0
Weekly Salaries	$121.81	$111.57	$115.90
Tenure in Job	13.2 weeks	13.6 weeks	18.9 weeks
Base number	213	97	141

[a] Processing, machine trades, bench work.

[b] Professional, technical, managerial, clerical, sales.

Once again, the mean SES index of the jobs held by the co-worker group exceeded that of both groups of CEP participants. It seems noteworthy that the mean SES index of the best paying jobs was approximately five points below that reported for the best liked job by each group; thus, the best paying jobs were not necessarily those with the highest socioeconomic status. The consistent difference in socioeconomic status between jobs held by co-workers and by CEP participants would seem to indicate that the former enjoyed access to better jobs. This observation is belied somewhat by the weekly earnings on the best paying jobs reported by the three groups, which did not differ significantly. The co-workers, however, reported the longest tenure on the best paying jobs, and, as Table 4-11 indicates, they were more likely to be currently employed in their best paying jobs when interviewed. These differences suggest that the co-workers not only valued money more than the CEP participants, but they were also more likely to retain their best paying jobs.

Table 4-11

Percentages of Respondents Still Employed on Best Paying Job at Follow-up and Reasons of Others for Leaving the Best Paying Job--Reported by Percentages of Completers, Dropouts, and Co-workers

	CEP Completers	CEP Dropouts	Co-workers
	%	%	%
Reasons for leaving job:			
Company action	38	36	45
Personal reasons unrelated to job	40	37	28
Unsatisfactory job conditions	15	11	17
To take another job	3	7	7
Other	5	10	3
Base Number	138	73	58
	%	%	%
Percentage still employed in "best paying" job	36	25	56
Total Base Number	229	101	147

The percentages of participants and co-workers who gave reasons for leaving the best paying jobs are also recorded in Table 4-11. The differences between groups did not reach statistical significance. Company action and personal reasons for leaving accounted for about 75 percent of the reasons cited by members of each of the three groups. The remaining one-quarter of the respondents reported unsatisfactory job conditions or the intention of taking a different job as the main explanations for leaving.

Although the differences between the co-workers and the CEP participants have been emphasized in this discussion, they should not be exaggerated. The similarities in job types and evaluative criteria of the three groups, combined with the fairly large proportions of subjects who did not specify most or least liked jobs, suggest the presence of undifferentiated job values in the populations sampled. Apparently, rather minor differences existed among the groups in these respects.

Job and Income Desires, Current and for the Future

In addition to questioning the respondents on their reactions to previous jobs, an attempt was made to assess what the CEP participants, ex antes, and co-workers hoped for in their future employment and income. Two questions were asked: "What kind of work would you like to do right now?" and "What kind of work would you most like to do at some time in the future?" The respondents were also asked how much they would expect to earn at both times. The questions were divided in this way to encourage the respondents to be less bound by reality considerations when they answered concerning "some time in the future."

The answers are presented in Table 4-12. The job answers are grouped by DOT categories for presentation, but these groupings tend to suggest more clarity of preference than was actually the case. For example, answers such as factory and clerical work were coded into the production and white collar categories, respectively. There seemed to be more clarity at follow-up than there was right after the program, but the differences in sample composition prevent reaching a firm conclusion. Despite this, during both interview periods the dropouts were apparently less sure of their goals than were the completers.

There are indications of modest aspirations of upward mobility in the comparisons of present and future desires. There was an increase in the desire for white collar occupations from the present to the future in five out of six comparisons, and a decrease in desire for production occupations in all comparisons. The averages for the socioeconomic index also showed some upward aspirations. The averages for jobs the respondents would have liked at the time of the interview were six to seven points higher than those for best-liked jobs (Table 4-11) and six to ten points lower than the averages for jobs desired in the future.

Table 4-12

Current and Future Job Desires and Earning Expectations, after Program and at Follow-up

DOT Category	Post-Program						Follow-Up					
	Completer		Dropout		Ex Ante		Completer		Dropout		Co-worker	
	Now	Fut.	Now	Fut.	Now	Fut.	Now	Fut.	Now	Fut.	Now	Fut.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Production[a]	24	15	25	16	18	13	22	16	16	14	16	8
Service	10	8	15	4	9	5	17	15	19	22	23	21
Structural	5	6	5	3	9	7	11	12	9	5	9	8
White collar[b]	32	31	15	21	26	30	25	34	26	31	32	43
Miscellaneous	5	3	3	1	2	1	10	7	7	5	10	5
Not ascertained[c]	24	36	37	55	35	43	15	17	23	23	11	16
Means												
SES index	35	41	29	39	32	40	32	40	30	37	35	43
Anticipated weekly earnings ($)	114	160	117	149	103	126	142	218	133	210	154	245
Base Number	295	295	93	93	211	211	236	236	159	159	146	146

[a] Processing, machine trades, bench work.

[b] Professional, technical, managerial, clerical, sales.

[c] Not included in calculation of mean SES index or mean earnings.

The income estimates underwent considerable inflation from right after the program to the follow-up. The average weekly earnings expected by the completers after the program were $114.00, or the equivalent of $2.85 per hour for 40 hours of work. This figure is below the averages for most occupational categories in Columbus (Chapter 3, Tables 3-4 and 3-5) but, unfortunately, considerably above the average wage in the jobs that the CEP could make available to its participants ($88 per week, Chapter 3, Table 3-9). The discrepancy in the averages is $26 per week, or $.65 per hour. This means the average wage for jobs listed with the Columbus CEP would have had to increase 30 percent to reach the expectations of the participants. At the time of the follow-up interviews, which were conducted six or more months later, income expectations among the completers averaged $142.00 per week, or $3.55 per hour. This figure, while well above that CEP could make available, was not far from the prevailing averages in most Columbus industries. The income estimates obtained at follow-up for "some time in the future" exceeded the estimates for "right now" by considerably more than they did in the post-program interviews. At post-program the difference in the average estimates for completers was $46; at follow-up it was $76. The pattern was similar in the other groups, with the co-workers giving the highest estimates of all.

Members of each group expressed aspirations for jobs higher in socioeconomic status than they had previously held and for more pay than they had received in their most lucrative positions. If these aspirations seem somewhat unrealistic, it is still noteworthy that the CEP participants and their co-workers shared a common delusion. The CEP groups, despite their comparative lack of job experience and previous labeling as hard-core unemployed, once more exhibited their similarity to regular members of the work force.

It is also of more than passing interest that the income expectations of the ex antes were considerably lower than those of the other respondents. Chapter 6 indicates that the main reasons why ex antes did not enroll and dropouts left the program referred to their perceptions of the ability of CEP to provide what they wanted. It is clear that the expectations of ex antes and dropouts were not higher than the completers', either as to types of jobs or to amount of pay. The differences lie not in their desires but in their perceptions of the efficacy of CEP.

The degree of mobility indicated by the answers to the questions on desired jobs refutes the commonly expressed belief that the hard-to-employ have unrealistically high job aspirations. Those respondents who answered the questions seem to have had rather reasonable expectations. Few wanted to be true professionals, such as engineers or lawyers, but neither did they want to be bus boys or janitors. Their desires lay mainly in the 30 to 40 socioeconomic index range, a range that includes lower level white-collar and higher level blue-collar jobs.

Clarity of Vocational Preferences

The question "What kind of work would you like to do right now?" also provided data on how specific the CEP respondents were in expressing their immediate work preferences. Their verbatim responses were coded according to the following criteria: (1) responses indicating specific job preferences--including the naming of a job, such as cook, janitor, stock clerk, secretary, etc.--or mention of staying at the present job, returning to a past position, or training for a certain (named) job; (2) responses indicating general job preferences (the naming of occupational categories--such as assembly, business, factory work, general labor, office or sales work) or an intention to acquire general schooling; and (3) responses indicating no real job preference--e.g., "anything," "don't know," "a good paying job," or "something easy."

It was speculated that CEP completers might differ from dropouts in the certainty of their aspirations; that is, the CEP program might have influenced the completers to define their vocational interests. The data do indicate that completing the program was associated with having clearer preferences, but only marginally. Being employed at follow-up showed a far stronger relationship to having clear vocational preferences. Table 4-13 presents the percentages by the two classifications.

Table 4-13

Clarity of Present Vocational Preference, by Completer-Dropout and Employed-Unemployed, at Follow-up

Clarity of Preference	Program Experience		Employment	
	Comp.	Dropout	Empl.	Unempl.
	%	%	%	%
Specific preference	62	60	69	55
General preference	27	22	19	34
No preference	11	18	12	11
Base number	227	141	188	146

The difference between completers and dropouts is significant at the .05 level ($X^2 = 6.94$), and the difference between employed and unemployed is significant at the .01 level ($X^2 = 10.70$). The way in which degree of specificity was coded may have contributed to the greater certainty among the employed, for it seems likely that they would be more inclined to mention their present jobs as desired than the unemployed would be to cite previous jobs.

Another indication of clarity of goals was obtained by asking the respondents who expressed job goals for some time in the future the kind of additional training or experience they felt they would need in order to prepare for the jobs they mentioned.

Their replies were categorized into three groups, those which showed that the respondent had a clear idea of what he would have to do in order to qualify for his desired job; those which indicated that the respondent had a reasonable, if not precise, idea of what he would have to do; and those which were unclear, meaning that the respondent had little idea of the qualifications he would need for the better job. The percentage of responses coded into each category is shown in Table 4-14.

Table 4-14

Clarity of Further Training or Experience Needed, by Completers, Dropouts, and Co-workers at Follow-up

Clarity of Further Training or Experience	Completers	Dropouts	Co-workers
	%	%	%
Clear Idea	41	33	35
Reasonable Idea	47	47	52
Unclear (or No) idea	12	19	13
Base Number	196	118	116

Although the dropouts appear to be somewhat more uncertain, the differences among the groups are not significant. Only slightly more than one-third of those respondents who expressed a preference had really clear ideas of the preparation needed for the desired positions.

The general impression gained from the data presented in this section is that a sizable proportion of all the respondents--and especially the ex antes and CEP dropouts--lacked vocational maturity. Their work careers are best described as "floundering" (Miller and Form, 1951) or as "multiple-trial careers" (Super et al., 1963). Both of these terms indicate repeated job changes without stabilization in any one occupation. This pattern is encountered frequently among young men who enter the labor market directly from high school, and especially among the poor. To some extent, the lack of vocational maturity may simply reflect the youth of the participants--half of whom were less than 25. The periods of unemployment between their jobs tended to be much longer than those of other young men who make repeated job changes and this caused them to be classified as hard-core unemployed. The pattern of their employment experiences, however, does not differ in kind from their more fortunate peers; it differs in the extent of unemployment.

GENERAL OUTLOOK ON LIFE

One assumption of the CEP was that its typical participant would be separated from the mainstream of society; he was expected to be either discouraged and defeated or alienated from existing institutions. Several questions about outlook on life were asked of every respondent. These were intended not only to assess how the individual perceived his situation in life, but also to indicate if participation in CEP was associated with changes in one's outlook. The orientation program could, for example, improve a participant's attitude toward himself by improving his basic skills and by giving him some understanding of his position in society. The provision of a reasonably good job to a person with a long record of unemployment should markedly improve morale--assuming a job is desired. Conversely, failure to find a job, or to be retained at one, might be expected to heighten feelings of inadequacy and frustration. This section will examine the data collected in an attempt to assess the outlook on life expressed by completers and dropouts from the CEP.

Assessments of outlooks on life were made in several ways. At the end of the post-program and follow-up interviews each participant was asked whether things were generally getting better or worse for him and his family. The attitude scale used in the pre-program interviews to assess the respondent's perception of locus of control was also administered (I-E score). Similar measures were available from the interviewers, who rated (1) each participant's overall attitude toward himself and his chances in life, and (2) whether he appeared to make plans which he could carry out or was more controlled by external events. The interviewer ratings were undoubtedly based partly on participants' replies to relevant questions, but also reflected comments and other information available to the interviewer which were not directly reported, such as the respondent's general manner of presenting himself in the interview.

Are "Things Getting Better or Worse?"

Replies to the question concerning whether "things are generally getting better or worse" were scored as "better," "worse" or "same," and the reasons given were coded as referring to CEP, society, or personal improvement or problems. The distributions of these responses by completer-dropout, ex ante, and co-worker at post-program and follow-up are shown in Table 4-15.

The CEP completers were clearly more likely than the dropouts and the ex antes to say things were going better. They were, however, not as optimistic as the co-workers. The responses of the ex antes once again reflected some pessimism, but can hardly be said to have evidenced discouragement and defeat. In the post-program interviews many respondents mentioned CEP as the cause of their present conditions, but very few did so at follow-up. The reasons underlying overall assessments were generally personal and most often related to whether or not the individual was employed. To test the effects of employment and CEP placement simultaneously, the respondents who were interviewed at follow-up were sorted by these two variables. The results are given in Table 4-16.

Employed respondents were more likely than unemployed participants to say that things were going better. Responses of co-workers were quite similar to those of former participants employed in CEP-obtained jobs. Among employed subjects, those in non-CEP-obtained jobs were more likely to say things were worse than were those who had gotten their jobs through CEP. An examination of the answers of the subjects employed in non-CEP-obtained jobs indicated that of those who said things were worse due to personal problems, seventeen (of twenty-five) complained that they did not like their jobs, or did not earn enough money. The others cited poor health and family troubles as their reasons for saying "things" were worse.

Variation among the three groups of unemployed respondents was slight, although responses of "better" were more frequent in the group whose last jobs were not CEP placements than in the other two groups. Some of the reasons given by unemployed subjects for things getting better included marriage, participation in training programs, and improved health. Most unemployed subjects described things as worse because they lacked jobs and money. A few complained of problems such as illness, family quarrels, legal troubles, and alcoholism.

It should be noted that, although the question was asked in general terms, most respondents answered on an immediate and personal basis. The traditional American success or "Protestant" ethic appears to be reflected in these answers. The responses revealed a basic assumption that the individual is responsible for what happens to him, whether that be success or failure. Few spoke of the problems of discrimination and exploitation, or of broader social and economic problems. Apparently, the rhetoric of the radical has not reached the hard-core unemployed, who might seem to be a natural target. Of course, it is also possible that the really alienated unemployed who have more radical ideas would not take part in CEP. Those who participated were still trying to "make it" in conventionally defined ways.

The individual's outlook on life, as expressed in his answer to this question, thus appeared to be heavily influenced by whether he was employed. Such answers may, of course, have been influenced by the general job-oriented content of the interview. To test the independent effect of

Table 4-15

Attitude toward Whether Things Were Getting Better or Worse for Respondent and Family, by Completer-Dropout and Ex Ante and Co-worker at Post-Program and Follow-up

Reasons	Post-Program			At Follow-up		
	Completer	Dropout	Ex Ante	Completer	Dropout	Co-worker
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Better	62	26	38	54	39	80
effect of CEP	32	5	4	2	2	NA
improvement in society	7	--	5	4	6	7
personal improvement	8	4	22	46	28	73
no comment	15	17	7	3	3	--
No change, undecided	12	22	28	11	13	7
Worse	22	43	27	31	43	11
CEP another failure	13	18	2	*	1	NA
society at fault	1	3	3	1	2	--
personal problems	6	14	14	29	37	11
no comment	2	8	8	--	3	--
Not ascertained	4	10	7	3	5	2
Number	295	93	211	238	159	147

NA = Not applicable.

*less than half of 1 percent.

Table 4-16

Attitude toward Whether Things Were Getting Better or Worse for Respondent and Family at Follow-up, by Employment Status in Most Recent Job

Response	CEP Participants				
	Employed		Unemployed		
	CEP-placed	Non-CEP-placed	Last job CEP-placed	Last job non-CEP-placed	No jobs since CEP
	%	%	%	%	%
Better	80	62	27	38	26
effect of CEP	4	1	2	1	2
improvement in society	6	7	2	4	6
personal improvement	69	50	19	29	18
no comment	1	4	4	4	0
No change, undecided	13	8	13	16	16
Worse	7	30	60	48	57
CEP a failure	0	0	3	1	2
society at fault	1	1	0	4	0
personal problems	6	28	55	42	51
no comment	0	1	2	1	4
Number	84	108	67	84	49

employment status, this and several other variables were entered in a regression equation to determine whether they were related to evaluating "things" as better or worse. The analysis included program completion versus dropping out as one variable, and employment or unemployment, total weekly income, and perception of locus of control (I-E score, see next section) as the others. The results of this analysis are shown in Table 4-17.

Table 4-17

Regression Analysis of Attitude toward Whether Things Were Going Better or Worse

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Regression Coefficient	Standard Error
Completer	.62	.49	.123	.098
Employed	.48	.50	.609**	.111
Weekly income	65.83	69.51	.002**	.001
I-E score	11.97	1.54	.039	.030
N	331			
$\bar{R}^2$			.184	
F			19.623**	

$^{**}p < .01$

If CEP itself affected outlook on life, as measured here, program completion should be related to the individual's perception of current circumstances. Although these two variables are related when the others are not held constant ($\underline{r}$ = .16, N = 331), program completion does not enter significantly in the regression equation. The individual's perception of locus of control (I-E score) was also related to his evaluation of current circumstances.

The two variables which are related to evaluation of things as better or worse are employment and weekly income. As noted in the distribution of responses, employed respondents were much more likely than unemployed to say that things were better. Further, even with employment held constant, weekly income is positively related to the evaluation of things as better. Weekly income includes amounts received from all sources: wages, government payments, help from families, and anything else reported. It should be noted that unreported incomes were coded as "zero," so that it is not possible to distinguish "no income" from "no reported income." (Respondents probably did not always report income obtained in illegal or quasi-legal ways.) This problem may have served to reduce the size of the obtained relation.

Since these variables accounted for only 18 percent of the variance, there are other factors which probably affected responses to the question concerning how things were going, but which could not be entered in the analysis. These would include individual value systems, the nature of personal problems, circumstances in the family, and just how bad things had been in the past.

To summarize, attitudes toward things as better or worse were apparently not affected by participation in CEP, except that probability of employment and income were greater for completers. The pattern of responses for the participants who were placed and still employed when followed up was practically identical to that of the co-workers who were somewhat older and had experienced steadier employment. Employment was a basic but not the only variable, however. The employed participants who held jobs they did not obtain through CEP were more likely to say things were going worse.

The question "Are things generally getting better or worse for you and your family?" might be expected to have produced replies which were particularly susceptible to current circumstances. Responses, however, were fairly consistent from post-program to follow-up interviews. While only half of the respondents were individually consistent in their overall assessment (equivalent to a stability correlation of .70), fewer than one-fourth changed markedly, i.e., from better to worse, or worse to better. As shown in Table 4-18, 32 percent of the respondents said that things were better, and 13 percent said that they were worse during both interviews. Only 5 percent of the replies changed from worse to better, and 16 percent changed from better to worse. Almost all the respondents who said things were the "same" at the post-program interview gave different answers at follow-up.

The reasons given for things being better or worse were also relatively consistent. A frequency analysis of the nine possible post-program and follow-up responses indicated significant agreement between the reasons given at the two interviews ($X^2 = 101.37$, $N = 150$, $df = 64$, $p = .002$). It should be noted that the analysis was conducted on the coded responses which focused on the causes underlying the overall assessments. The coding reduced all answers to whether or not the respondent saw present conditions in his life as being due to the effects of CEP, personal reasons, or changes in society, It must be regarded tentatively because of the low frequencies in most cells.

Table 4-18

Evaluation of Things as Going Better or Worse at Post-Program and Follow-up, Longitudinal Sample

	Post-Program	Follow-up			
		Better	Same	Worse	DK,NA
		%	%	%	%
% Better	53	32	4	16	1
% Same	15	8	1	5	1
% Worse	26	5	6	13	1
% DK,NA	6	4	0	2	0
Total	100	49	11	36	3
Number	166				

DK,NA = Don't know, not ascertained.

Interviewer Ratings--Respondent's Attitude Toward Himself

The interviewers rated each respondent's overall attitude toward himself and his chances in life as positive, negative, or in between. The distributions of these ratings were similar to those for respondents' attitudes toward things in general, as the ratings varied primarily with employment.

Employed respondents were more often rated positively than were unemployed (66 and 41 percent, respectively). Attitudes of completers and dropouts were given similar ratings. As shown in Table 4-19, respondents employed in CEP-obtained jobs were most frequently rated as having positive attitudes (72%), and those who were never employed after CEP were least frequently given positive ratings (29%). Ratings were also made for co-workers. Of these, 81 percent were rated as positive and only 2 percent as negative.

Interviewers' ratings of each participant's attitude toward himself were fairly closely related to the individual's expressed attitude about whether things were going better or worse for him. The correlation between these two variables was $\underline{r} = .46$ (N = 388). The distribution of

Table 4-19

Interviewers' Ratings of Respondents' Attitudes toward Themselves for Participants by Employment and Placement Status and for Co-workers

Response	CEP-Participants					Co-workers
	Employed		Unemployed			
	CEP	non-CEP	CEP	non-CEP	No job	
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Positive (3)	72	63	46	44	29	81
In-between (2)	25	32	26	37	31	17
Negative (1)	4	5	28	19	39	2
Mean rating	2.68	2.57	2.18	2.25	1.91	2.78
Number	85	112	65	84	51	144

interviewers' ratings as a function of participants' evaluation of "things" is shown in Table 4-20. Participants who said that things were going better were generally given positive ratings, while those who said things were worse were typically given "in between" or negative ratings.

Table 4-20

Relation of Interviewer's Ratings of Respondent's Attitude toward Himself and Respondent's Own Evaluation of "Things"

Interviewer's Rating of Attitude	Respondent Said Things Were:		
	Better (3)	Same (2)	Worse (1)
	%	%	%
Positive (3)	75	46	27
In between (2)	20	37	42
Negative (1)	4	16	32
Mean rating	2.71	2.30	1.95
Number	202	43	143

It is clear that an individual's expressed attitude about how things were going in his life was not the sole determinant of his attitude toward himself, as seen by others. It is possible for current circumstances--such as family problems, illness, or the lack of a job--to make an individual feel that things are generally going worse for him, without seriously affecting his overall attitude toward himself. However, if things are going well, the individual does tend to convey a positive self-image.

Of course, it is impossible to measure "general outlook on life" adequately with one or two questions. Participants seemed to base their answers primarily on whether they held a job, but other factors probably contributed to an overall attitude toward things as better or worse. Additionally, there is no information available concerning the reliability of interviewers' ratings, except the correlation with respondents' expressed attitudes. This correlation is due in part to replies affecting ratings, as well as both replies and ratings reflecting the same variables.

These limitations of the questions used may have reduced the measured effects of program completion on general outlook on life. On the whole, participants in the program (both completers and dropouts) were less likely than co-workers to say that things were going better and to be given positive ratings of attitude. Employment was the major variable affecting attitudes toward things, and the more favorable attitudes of completers than of dropouts were apparently due to differences in employment.

Locus of Control

By "locus of control" is meant whether the individual perceives that he controls his life or that he is controlled by external factors. The individual with an internal orientation toward life tends to feel that he has basic control of what happens to him. If he expects to succeed, he believes it will have to be through his own efforts; if he should fail, he sees the fault as being his own. In contrast, an externally-oriented person is likely to feel that luck, fate, or powerful individuals control his life. He feels that luck is necessary for success, and attributes failure to bad luck or external intervention.

As an index of internal versus external orientation toward life, respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with each of seven statements such as "a person shouldn't hope for too much in this life." The particular items used were selected to meet the criteria of a Guttman scale (see Edwards, 1957). One point was assigned to each response that indicated an external reference and two points for each response that indicated internal control. Possible scores thus ranged from 7 (complete external) to 14 (complete internal).

The expectancy scale was administered to a sample of participants before their actual experience with CEP (pretest). Some of these persons were included in a larger sample interviewed immediately after the CEP experience and again several months later. Scores on the scale exhibited some variability, but there were significant positive correlations between pretest and follow-up scores (r = .47, N = 42) and between post-program and follow-up scores (r = .31, N = 139). The average score for the entire group decreased slightly from pretest (12.05) to post-program (11.78) and increased slightly at the follow-up (11.97).

During the post-program administration of the scale the completers averaged 11.9 and the dropouts and ex antes both averaged 11.6. At follow-up the scores of the completers and dropouts were even more similar--12.0 and 11.9, respectively--and the co-workers were slightly higher (12.3). All of the differences are in the direction that would be expected, but of the comparisons made, only one approached significance. That was between the employed and unemployed (12.1 and 11.8; t = 1.86, p = .06). However, too much emphasis should not be placed on any of these differences. What all the scores indicate is a strong internal orientation. On the average, an internal answer was chosen as self-descriptive on six of the seven items. Once again, contrary to the typical stereotype of the peripheral worker from a poverty background, these respondents perceived themselves as controlling their lives.

Overall, the obtained expectancy scores indicate a fairly high degree of internal control which is not affected by CEP completion or employment. As in their evaluation of things going better or worse, these respondents saw their situations in life as resulting from their own individual actions.

Interviewer Ratings of Plans/Events

Interviewers were asked to rate each respondent as to whether he appeared to be the kind of person who makes plans and carries them out or mainly the kind who lets his life be controlled by events. As for other questions, ratings varied more with employment than with program completion. Completers were rated as making plans slightly more often than were dropouts (45% and 35%, respectively). As shown in Table 4-21, unemployed respondents were rated as controlled by events about twice as often as were those who were employed. Respondents employed in CEP-obtained jobs differed from those in non-CEP-obtained jobs primarily in the frequency with which interviewers felt they had sufficient information to answer the question. Ratings of co-workers were quite similar to those of respondents employed in CEP-obtained jobs.

Although I-E scores did not vary significantly among subjects, they did differ among participants grouped by interviewers' ratings of plans/events. For those who were rated as controlled by events, the average I-E score was almost one point lower than for those rated as making plans (11.45 and 12.33, respectively). Those who were not rated had an intermediate mean score (12.05). The correlation between I-E scores and interviewer ratings was low but statistically significant (r = .16, N = 398).

Table 4-21

Interviewers' Ratings of Respondents' Attitudes toward Planning, for Participants by Employment and Placement Status and for Co-workers

Response	CEP participants					Co-workers
	Employed		Unemployed			
	CEP	non-CEP	CEP	non-CEP	No Job	
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Makes plans	63	49	28	32	30	68
Controlled by events	19	20	46	39	41	12
Not enough evidence to judge	18	32	26	29	28	21
Number	84	107	65	77	46	145

SUMMARY

This chapter presents information on the characteristics of the respondents who participated in CEP together with two comparison groups: potential participants who did not take part and co-workers of CEP placements who had found their jobs on their own. The goal of the chapter has been to examine implicit assumptions about the characteristics of the CEP target population to determine how well the information gathered from a sample of this population matches the assumptions.

The participants and potential participants in the Columbus CEP were predominantly young males, and virtually all were black. The incomes and previous employment they reported for the year preceding CEP clearly met the definition of hard-core unemployment. Most had been employed less than half the year, and total income averaged $1,500 to $1,600. None of the demographic information distinguished between the actual participants and the potential participants who did not enroll. The co-worker group tended to be somewhat older and had a greater proportion of females and whites than the other groups.

While the participants and potential participants met the program definition of hard-core unemployed, self-reports of their attitudes and goals hardly fit the common stereotype. The respondents were asked a series of questions designed to elicit information about how they felt about themselves and the opportunities available to them. Their answers revealed some skepticism but also showed that they hardly merit the discouraged and defeated label that the term "hard-core" tends to evoke. The potential participants who did not take part in CEP were questioned at greater length than the other respondents to see if their evaluations of their opportunities were related to their decisions not to enter CEP. Their answers suggest a realistic evaluation of available options and hopes for moderate upward mobility.

A series of questions on what was most liked and disliked in previous jobs and what the respondents' current and future job and income desires were also indicate fairly realistic expectations among a majority of the respondents. The questions revealed, however, that a significant proportion of the respondents had rather vague, uncrystallized vocational preferences. Although almost all had held several previous jobs, many could not pick out any which they particularly liked or disliked; nor could they state job preferences for the present or for "some time in the future." The lack of crystallization is probably the result of limited vocational experiences. While most had held many jobs, these were essentially within a restricted range of skills and duties. Nevertheless, very few of the respondents who expressed preferences were totally unrealistic. Their goals were somewhat above what they had known in the past but, given adequate training and employment opportunities, seemed quite attainable.

Chapter 5

ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK

The review of studies of poverty presented in Chapter 2 demonstrated that one of the most debated characteristics concerning those people labeled "hard-core unemployed" is the nature of their true attitudes toward work and jobs. The debate usually focuses on whether the hard-core really want to work. The argument on one side is that sufficient jobs are available, and that anyone who sincerely wants to work can obtain one. "Help wanted" advertisements of daily newspapers are usually cited as evidence that jobs are going begging. The analyses of these ads presented in Chapter 3 showed that relatively few of the jobs listed are suitable for the typical CEP participant. The opposite argument usually attempts to present the reasons for unemployment and claims that anyone who has had repeated negative employment experiences is going to be reluctant to expose himself again. Both of these arguments imply that the hard-core individual is probably not very active in his attempts to get a job. The Concentrated Employment Program is partially based on this assumption.

In reality, little is actually known about the attitudes toward work of the hard-core unemployed. Traditional techniques of attitude assessment are frequently dismissed as inappropriate because a respondent can easily distort his responses. This chapter discusses several different techniques which were used to assess the attitudes toward work of the hard-core. Several of these were nontraditional techniques which were employed to overcome the criticism of inappropriateness. They were also chosen because they did not rely entirely upon a respondent's verbal report. These measures are discussed in the first section of the chapter--titled "Longitudinal Sample"--which considers the subsample of respondents who were studied most intensively. The data collected indicate that though work attitude measures cannot be used to predict experiences in CEP or subsequent employment, they do reflect some differences among groups with varying experiences. These data particularly imply that if CEP is an unsuccessful experience, attitudes toward work are likely to move in a negative direction.

The measure of work attitude was changed somewhat for use in the follow-up interviews. The second section of the chapter describes the changes that were made and the reasons for them. The revised measure revealed remarkable similarity across the groups to which it was administered: groups as different as the CEP dropouts and employer representatives had highly similar mean attitudes and score distributions. This similarity is attributed to the generally positive evaluation of work in our society. The section concludes with a discussion of a final measure of work attitude, consisting of the ranking of eight desirable job features. This also indicated considerable similarity between the CEP participants and their co-workers.

THE LONGITUDINAL SAMPLE

The analyses in this section are based upon the attitude and expectancy measures which were administered to a subsample of CEP enrollees. Administration of these measures took place at three different times: (1) during the CEP intake process, (2) after the subjects were terminated from CEP (through job placement, placement in a long-term skill training program, or dropping out of the program), and (3) approximately six months after CEP termination. These three administrations roughly correspond to a pretest-posttest-follow-up model, with differential treatments intervening between administrations.

Subjects

The sample of subjects in this phase of the study consisted of 222 enrollees, representing 44 percent of the total number of enrollees for the period January-June 1969. Pretests were administered to 111 and a matched group received no pretests. The original group was first pretested and then the matching, unpretested sample was selected from the remaining pool of 277 subjects for whom data had been collected. The matching was accomplished by dividing the larger pool of subjects into strata based upon sex, program completion or failure to complete it, and employment status at follow-up. In the matching procedure, control could not be exerted over length of training; in the data analysis, however, this variable was statistically controlled. Subjects were then randomly drawn from these strata to match the frequencies found in the pretested group. The summary of subject characteristics shown in Table 5-1 demonstrates that no substantial differences existed between the pretested and nonpretested groups. Additional analyses of the posttest attitude data obtained from these two groups indicated that no significant pretest effects were present in these data, with the exception of a slight trend toward a social desirability effect in the pretested group. This effect was taken into account in the subsequent data analyses.

It should be noted that, since more than 97 percent of the CEP's enrollees were black, no attempt was made to control for race in either the subject selection or data analysis procedures.

As the figures in Table 5-1 demonstrate, the sample was heavily weighted with youthful males with records of high unemployment and low income, most of whom completed the program but only about half of whom immediately found employment. The most interesting figures, however, are those which show the great ranges of variation within the sample.

Table 5-1

Characteristics of Attitude Subsample

Variable	Pretested Ss				Nonpretested Ss					
	$\overline{X}$	S.D.	Range		$\overline{X}$	S.D.	Range		t	p.
Age	25.7	9.8	17-70		25.6	9.1	16-54		0.11	NS
No. of dependents	1.1	1.3	0-7		2.2	1.6	0-7		0.91	NS
Other federal programs	1.3	0.5	0-2		1.3	0.6	0-3		0.48	NS
Hourly wage, last job ($)	1.65	0.58	.50-4.00		1.75	0.64	.80-3.80		1.87	NS
Income, last 12 months ($)	1,362	861	100-3,500		1,598	1001	200-5,000		1.41	NS
Weeks unemployed, last 12 months	30.2	16.8	1-52		28.1	16.8	1-52		1.72	NS
Weeks unemployed, current	19.3	19.0	1-52		16.9	18.2	1-52		1.36	NS
IQ (GATB-G)	79.7	16.0	50-139		82.4	14.2	50-129		0.49	NS
	Yes		No		Yes		No			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	X^2	p.
Public assistance	21	20	86	80	18	16	92	84	0.4	NS
Employed at posttest	53	48	33	30	59	53	42	38	0.2	NS
Program completion	93	84	18	16	89	80	22	20	0.5	NS
	Male		Female		Male		Female			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Sex	75	68	35	32	76	68	35	32	0.0	NS

Instruments

Attitudes toward work were ascertained by what has been called "the multiple-indicator approach to attitude assessments" (Cook and Selltiz, 1964). This is merely a way of increasing faith in the "correctness" of one's measurements by utilizing two or more different techniques to measure the same attitudinal set. Greater validity can be assumed if the different measures produce similar results.

Two techniques were used to measure attitudes toward work. The first is an established attitude scaling technique, the "own-categories" procedure described by Sherif and Sherif (1967). In it the subjects are first asked to sort a group of attitude statements into piles, each pile consisting of statements which "seem to belong together." This is similar to the Thurstone procedure of scale construction (see Edwards, 1957). However, unlike the case with the Thurstone method, the subject may use as many or as few categories as he wishes. He then arranges the item piles in order according to their favorableness or unfavorableness toward the attitudinal object. Up to this point, there has been no mention of his own attitudes. The subject then must choose the piles containing those items which are most and least acceptable to him.

It has been demonstrated that the use of this procedure provides not only an estimate of direction of attitude but also an indication of ego-involvement with (or commitment to) this attitude. This technique requires a scale which contains not only items which are positive, neutral, or negative toward the attitudinal object but also a large proportion of items which are classified as "ambiguous" (i.e., which can be read as either positive _or_ negative toward the attitudinal object, according to the subject's perceptual predisposition).

A scale of this type was constructed from a preliminary pool of 225 attitude-toward-work items. These were Thurstone scaled by a group of 73 undergraduate psychology students acting as judges. From the Thurstone scale values and _Q_ values (the interquartile range, a measure of the variation in judgments) as the basis of item selection, a 40-item own-categories scale was compiled according to the following criteria: (1) 24 nonambiguous (low _Q_ value) items were chosen; five were very negative toward work, five slightly negative, four neutral, five slightly positive, and five very positive. The _Q_ values in the nonambiguous items ranged from 0.9 to 2.9, with a median _Q_ of 2.05. (2) Sixteen ambiguous (high _Q_ value) items were chosen from a subset of items especially written for high ambiguity; the _Q_ values of these items ranged from 2.3 to 4.9, with a median _Q_ of 3.3. A list of the items used in the final scale and the directions which were given to subjects during administration are provided in Appendix B-2.

The second technique for obtaining indications of attitudinal set involved physiological and perceptual measures. The rationale behind the use of such nontraditional measures arose from the assumption that the situation in which the subjects found themselves could produce in them a strong tendency to behave in accordance with their perceptions of what was expected by the administrators of the training program; or, in more technical terms, it could produce a strong social desirability set toward the tests and questionnaires which were administered as a part of the program's intake procedure. Although the own-categories technique of attitude assessment appears to be less susceptible to deliberate manipulation by the respondent than the more traditional Thurstone or Likert type of scale, it was decided that the use of physiological and perceptual measures which are even less susceptible to social desirability effects would provide greater understanding of the collected attitudinal data. The measures which were selected for use in this study were pupillary dilation and binocular rivalry. A rationale for the choice of each of these measures and a review of the literature concerning them are provided in Appendix B-3.

The pupillometer marketed by AIM Biosciences Ltd. was used for the pupillary dilation measures. This instrument consists of a pair of goggles which cover one eye with a pupil measuring device, freeing the other eye for viewing of the stimulus. The device works on an optical illusion principle, and the subject must make readings of his own pupil size. In the administration of this instrument, the subject placed his head and shoulders in a compartment in which the light source was held constant. The interior walls of this compartment were painted with nonreflectant, light gray paint, and one wall contained a frame allowing for timed presentation of the stimulus cards.

A stereoscope, which had been constructed from an old-time "stereopticon viewer," was used for the binocular rivalry measures. This instrument presents two stimuli to the subject, one stimulus to each eye. If the two stimuli are identical, he perceives them in three dimensions; if they are not identical, he is presented with a binocular conflict which is presumably resolved according to his predispositions to perceive certain stimulus content more readily. The instrument was adjustable for focus, and a timer was connected which controlled lighting of the stimuli for very short durations (beginning at .01 second).

The stimuli for both of these instruments consisted of a set of five matched pairs of illustrations created by a professional artist. Each pair was composed of two pen-and-ink drawings of the same person or persons in (1) a work-oriented and (2) a nonwork-oriented situation. Within each pair the general surroundings and bodily position of the person were matched for size, shading, and position, point-by-point across the two drawings. When viewed in stereoscopic perspective for very short durations, the illusion created is one of a person who is in either a work or a nonwork situation. Because 98 percent of the subjects were black, the figures in the stimulus drawings were of Negroes, in order to control for racially induced perceptual biases.

These illustrations were then photographically reduced for use with the two different machines. For the pupillometer a set of 8x8 inch stimuli was made up; these were viewed by the left eye at a distance of four feet. For the stereoscope a set of 2x2 inch cards was constructed which were viewed at a distance varying from 6 to 15 inches, depending upon the subject's stereoscopic focus point. Another set of 2x2 inch stimulus cards was also used for the binocular rivalry measure, consisting of paired work-nonwork stimulus words which were typed on the cards. A list of these stimulus words is provided in Appendix B-3. All stimuli were presented in counterbalanced order.

Expectancy

In his early studies of the interrelationships among motivation, expectancy, and incentive Atkinson (1958) used a very simple estimation of expectancy, which was merely the probability of being reinforced in a given situation. This sort of approach was not deemed useful in the present study, for reinforcement schedules were not under experimental control and the subjects' perceptions of the existing reinforcement schedules were assumed to be rather imperfect. It was decided, therefore, to use Rotter's (1954) social learning approach, in which expectancy is assumed to be a function of the individual subject's perception of a generalized "locus of control" of social reinforcements. These perceptions are hypothesized to vary over a continuum of expectancies, ranging from reinforcement control which is totally within the individual (internal control) at one pole, to reinforcement control which is totally outside the individual's reach (external control) at the other pole.

The standard measuring instrument for this construct is the I-E Scale developed by Rotter (1966). This is a forced-choice paper-and-pencil test which was normed on a college population. Close examination of this instrument, however, revealed that it would probably not be applicable to the subject population of this study due to the academic bias of its items, many of which refer to educational situations and scholastic reinforcements. Therefore, a separate scale was constructed, utilizing items taken from the I-E Scale, the Occupational Aspiration Scale (Haller and Miller, 1963), and Coleman's (1966) questionnaire.

Twenty items were taken from these instruments to form a preliminary scale. In accordance with the suggestion put forth by Gurin (1970) that personal expectancies should be kept conceptually separate from generalized expectancies, eleven of these items referred to locus of control for "people in general" and nine referred to locus of control for "me." This scale was pretested on 171 randomly selected residents of the innercity area of Columbus. The pretesting revealed that an "agree-disagree" format was more likely to be successful within this population than the regular forced-choice format.

The pretest sample was randomly divided into two groups and the responses of half of the respondents were subjected to a Guttman analysis to determine the scalability of the two sets of items (generalized control and personal control). Seven of the generalized control items formed a Guttman scale with a reproducibility coefficient of .90, but the personal control items did not scale. Upon cross-validation, using the other half of the pretest sample, the seven-item generalized control scale had a reproducibility coefficient of .89; the personal control items still could not be scaled with adequate reproducibility.

The seven-item generalized locus of control scale was retained for use in the study. The items in this scale are reproduced as question 71 in Appendix B-1.

Convergence of Attitudinal Measures

The only pupillometric measuring device which was within the resources of this project was one which works on the principle of an optical illusion. Unfortunately, during pretesting it was discovered that many subjects had difficulty responding to this device. Since the procedures were already set up, however, it was decided to use it on a trial basis for a short period. After a few weeks this measure was dropped since usable data had been obtained for less than 10 percent of the subjects.

In terms of operational utility, the stereoscopic measures were successful. There were few operational difficulties, and data were obtained for most subjects in the pretested group. The chief reason for loss of data was that a few subjects had monocular eye dominance of a magnitude which precluded stereoscopic visual effects.

Correlational analyses of these data indicated that the stereoscopic attitudinal measure and the own-categories attitude scale were tapping similar response tendencies in the subjects. The pattern of these correlations can be seen in Table 5-2. As would be expected, there was a tendency for the work-related stimuli to be perceived sooner than the nonwork stimuli by those subjects who scored higher on the attitude scale. That is, subjects who tended to have own-categories indices indicating more favorable attitudes toward work also tended to perceive the work-related verbal and pictorial stimuli before they perceived the nonwork stimuli. All of the correlation coefficients were in the expected direction, and all but two were significantly different from zero. It can therefore be concluded that the two very different kinds of measures tended to produce similar results. This conclusion increases the confidence that can be placed in the validity of the following analyses.

Results

Preliminary analyses of the attitude and expectancy data indicated four major findings. The first was that attitudes and expectancies appeared to be generally positive in the total population of CEP clients in Columbus and that the direction and strength of attitudes toward work and the direction of expectancy (internal versus external locus of control) could not be predicted from a knowledge of the clients' previous history of unemployment or whether they were accepting public assistance.

The second finding was that attitudes toward work and expectancies were affected by the CEP experience. Attitudes appeared to become less positive immediately after the CEP experience than they had been immediately prior

Table 5-2

Correlation of Stereoscopic and Own-Categories Attitude Measures

	Number of Work Stimuli Seen First		Number of Nonwork Stimuli Seen First	
	Verbal Stimuli	Pictorial Stimuli	Verbal Stimuli	Pictorial Stimuli
Attitude Direction Index	.58*	.36*	-.40*	-.08
Self-Placement Rating	.26*	.38*	-.24*	-.05
Composite ADI	.57*	.32*	-.50*	-.22*
N = 82				

*Correlation coefficient significantly different from zero, p.<.05.

to the CEP experience; they remained at this level after the client had been back in the labor market for six months. This general decrease in work attitudes was accompanied by an increase in the ego involvement of these attitudes. Thus, attitudes became more negative, and these negative attitudes were more strongly held. Most of the negative shift in the attitude, however, is attributable to the dropouts from the program, while the increase in ego involvement is accounted for by the program completers. Expectancies, on the other hand, show a curvilinear trend, decreasing immediately after the CEP experience but increasing again after further labor market experience.

The third major finding was that attitudes, but not expectancies, were affected by post-CEP experiences in the labor market. Those who acquired and kept jobs had more positive attitudes in the follow-up period than those who did not acquire employment. This difference is accounted for by a drop in the attitudes of those who did not find jobs, rather than a rise in the attitudes of those who did.

Finally, it was found that neither CEP completion nor employment success could be predicted from knowledge of clients' attitudes and expectancies at the time of program enrollment.

In all of the analyses conducted with these data, both attitudes and expectancies were found to be positive in the clients as a whole and in every subgrouping of clients according to their characteristics and CEP experiences. Multifactor analyses of variance demonstrated that subjects' attitudes and expectancies could not be differentiated on the basis of amount of previous unemployment, acceptance of public assistance, number of other federal programs in which they had been previously enrolled, or any combination of these factors. Because no differences were found, these data are not presented in tabular form.

Before discussing in greater detail the changes that were found, an explantion of the variables which were analyzed is necessary. The own-categories technique of attitude assessment does not provide a single "score" combining attitude direction and strength; several estimates of both direction and strength are separately provided by this technique. Most studies utilizing own-categories scales have dealt with subjects who had previously demonstrated high ego involvement (strength of attitude) in either negative or positive attitudes. These studies have consistently demonstrated that among highly involved subjects a strong contrast effect is found. Most items are displaced away from the subject's own position; i.e., the latitude of rejection is large, the latitude of noncommitment is barely used, and the latitude of acceptance is quite small. In addition, highly involved subjects use fewer categories for item placement than do less involved subjects. These studies, therefore, have analyzed three variables. Attitude direction is indicated by the first variable--the subject's indication of his own position--while ego involvement is indicated by the second and third variables, number of categories used and relative sizes of the latitudes of rejection, noncommitment, and acceptance.

In the present study these three variables, in and of themselves, were not of much use; a mixture of the above effects was obtained. In the first place, almost all of the subjects indicated highly positive attitudes toward work; the only differentiation among groups was in the degree of positiveness. Secondly, the two ego involvement variables did not completely agree. This is illustrated by a comparison of Figures 5-1 and 5-2 and of Figures 5-3 and 5-4. Figure 5-1 illustrates the contrast effect which is normally found in subjects with moderate ego involvement, while Figure 5-2 shows the assimilation effect found in the present study. The "latitude size" variable indicates that CEP clients, on the whole, display only moderate ego involvement in attitudes toward work, although these attitudes are on the positive end of the scale. Results of the "number of categories" variable are shown in Figures 5-3 and 5-4, with the former illustrating the normally obtained results and the latter showing those obtained in this study. It can be seen that the straightforward relationship normally found was not obtained in the present study.

Because of these difficulties, it was necessary to construct variables for the analysis of these data which would be consistent with the theoretical foundation of the method and would facilitate a better understanding of the information which the present group of subjects provided concerning their attitudes. Three variables were constructed to indicate direction of attitude and three to indicate ego involvement (strength) of attitude. The first, called Attitude Direction Index (ADI), was based upon the number of "very negative" items rejected by the subject and the number of "very positive" items accepted. The index was designed so that higher values would indicate more positive attitudes. Generally, a score of 5 indicates rather neutral attitudes, while scores above 5 indicate more positive

Figure 5-1

Theoretical Model of Item Distribution
(Figures Obtained by Sarup, 1969)

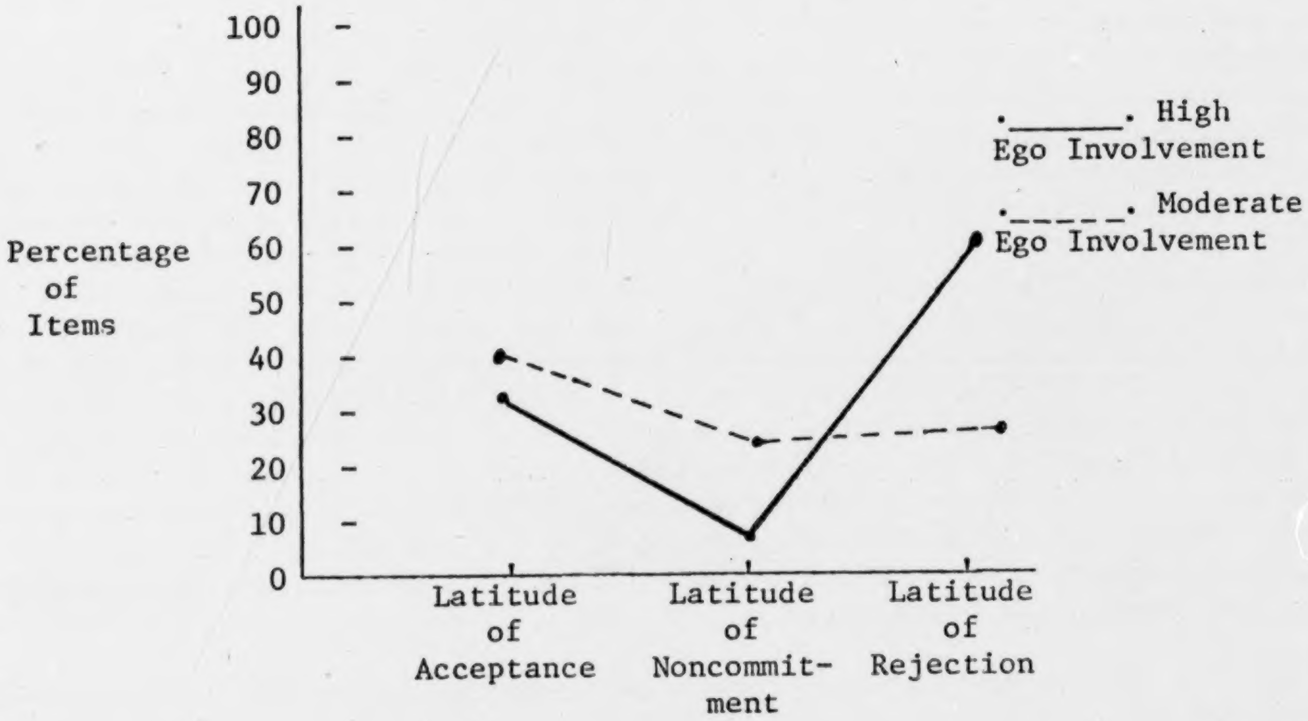


Figure 5-2

Presently Obtained Item Distribution

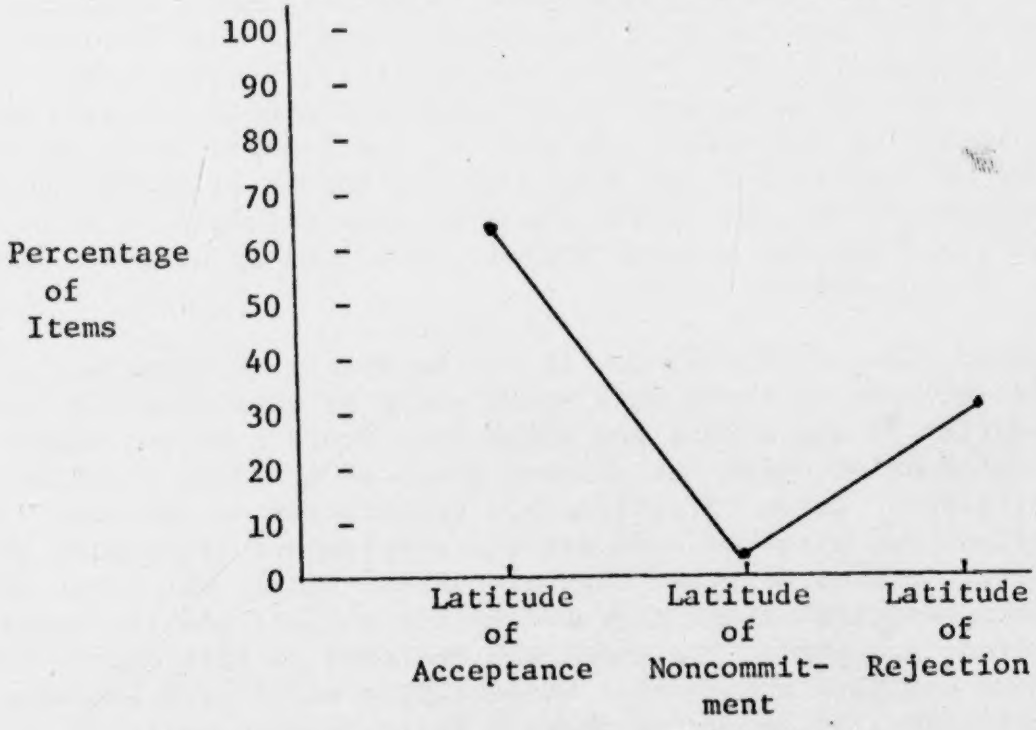


Figure 5-3

Theoretical Model of Category Distribution
(Figures obtained by Sarup, 1969)

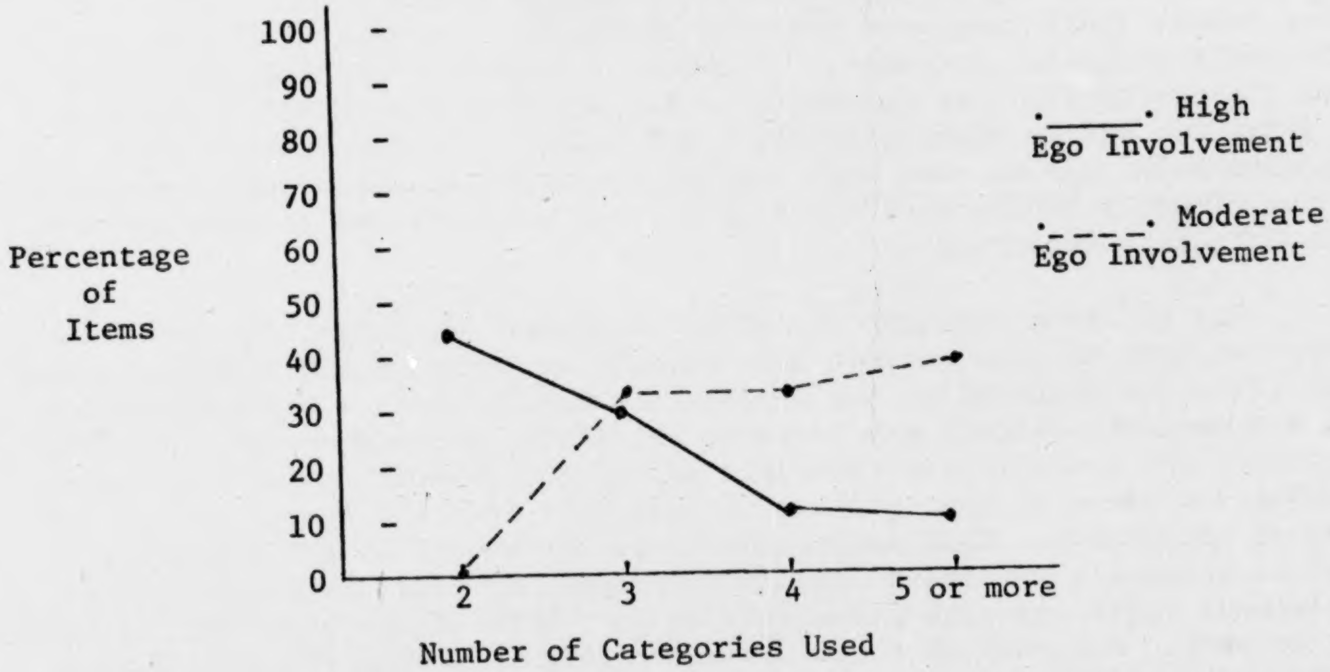
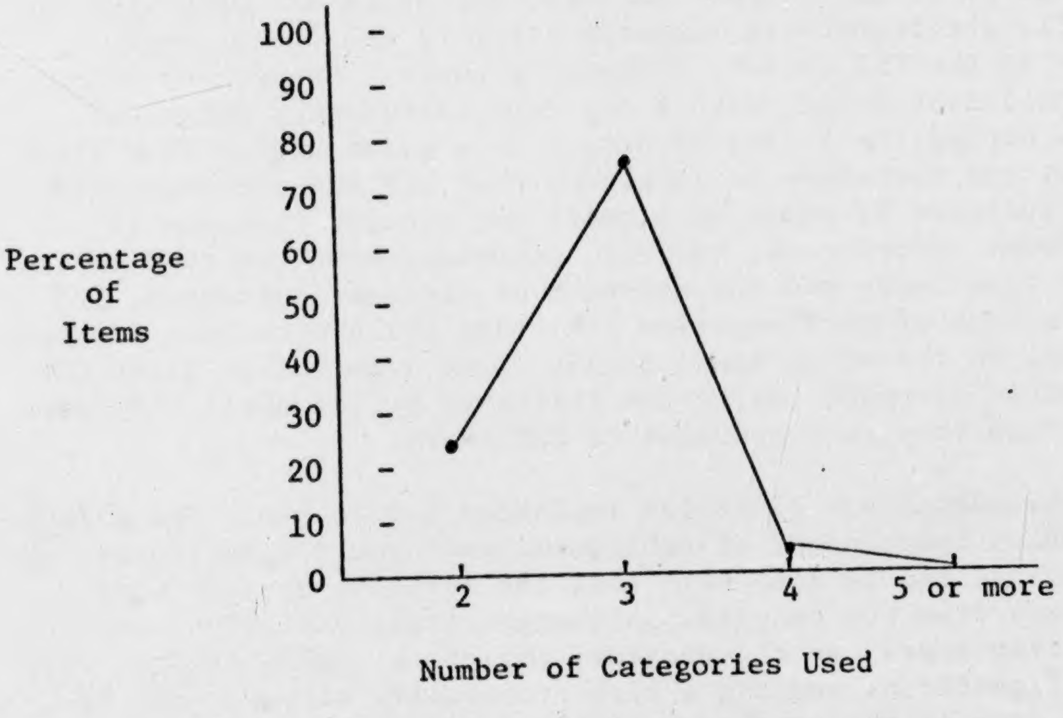


Figure 5-4

Presently Obtained Category Distribution



attitudes and scores below 5 indicate more negative attitudes. The second attitude direction indicator was called the Self-Rating (SR). The scale was based upon a combination of the subject's judgment concerning the positiveness of each of his categories and his placement of his own position relative to these categories. Scale values ranged from 1 to 6, with higher values indicating more positive attitudes. A score of 3.5 on this scale would indicate neutrality. Finally, a Composite Attitude Direction Index (Composite ADI) was calculated which was a single additive index of the prior two scales (Composite ADI = ADI + SR). The function of this composite index was to take both the "objective" indications of attitude and the client's "subjective" indication into account, and to make corrections when they disagreed.

The attitude strength variables consisted of, first, the number of categories used by each subject and, second, an index of the relative amount of assimilation produced by the subject's category sorts. Since assimilation and contrast effects are produced by shifts in placement of the ambiguous items, the Assimilation Index was calculated by subtracting the number of ambiguous items in the latitude of rejection from the number in the latitude of acceptance. This index thus shows the amount of assimilation, which is inversely related to ego involvement. An additive Composite Ego Involvement Index was also calculated to take both of the above two variables into account. For each of these variables, higher scores indicate weaker attitudes. The expectancy variable was based upon the internal-external orientation scale. On this scale internal orientation is given the greatest weight. Since internal orientation is generally considered "better" than external orientation, higher scale values indicate more "positive" expectancy orientations.

The mean scores of CEP clients on these variables are presented in Table 5-3. Overall, attitudes were slightly positive and expectancies were very positive in the CEP clients taken as a whole. Expectancy scores demonstrated a curvilinear trend, with a decrease immediately after CEP, but then increased during the follow-up period to a point higher than their original level. It can therefore be concluded that CEP and the employment experiences which followed it produced a small but genuine increase in expectancy. Attitudes toward work, however, decreased over the time period containing the CEP experience and the strength of attitude increased, producing a combined effect of more negative attitudes which were more strongly held. Expectancies, on the other hand, became lower immediately after CEP termination but gained strength during the follow-up period until they were at a higher point than they were previous to CEP entry.

These relationships are clarified in Tables 5-4 to 5-6. The effects of the CEP experience, independent of subsequent employment experiences, are shown in Table 5-4. It can be seen here that the negative changes were found in the dropouts from the program. Although slight variations were found in the direction scores of the program completers, these changes were not statistically significant and had a high probability of occurring by chance. The large drop in the attitudes of the dropouts, in comparison, was highly significant. Although the pre-CEP scores of the dropouts were slightly more positive than those of the completers, the dropouts became

Table 5-3

Changes in Attitude and Expectancy over Time

Variable	Before CEP Experience	Immediately After CEP Experience	Six-Month Follow-up	F-Ratio
Direction of Attitude:				
Attitude Direction Index	5.8	3.9	4.0	6.82**
Self-Rating	5.0	4.7	4.9	2.61
Composite ADI	10.8	8.6	8.9	7.46**
Strength of Attitude:				
Number of Categories Used	2.8	2.7	3.0	8.04**
Assimilation Index	4.9	3.3	2.1	6.09**
Composite Ego Involvement Index	7.8	6.0	4.9	6.06**
Expectancy:				
Internal-External Score	11.0	10.0	11.8	9.99**

*p.<.05
**p.<.01

Table 5-4

Effects of CEP Experience on Attitude and Expectancy over Time

Variable	Before CEP Experience		Immediately After CEP Experience		Six-Month Follow-up		F-Ratio
	CEP Completer	CEP Dropout	CEP Completer	CEP Dropout	CEP Completer	CEP Dropout	
Direction of Attitude:							
Attitude Direction Index	5.7	6.1	4.2	1.3	4.5	0.9	2.79
Self-Rating	4.8	5.3	4.7	4.2	5.0	4.2	4.23*
Composite ADI	10.5	11.4	8.9	5.5	9.6	5.1	4.08*
Strength of Attitude:							
Number of Categories Used	2.9	2.6	2.8	2.5	2.9	3.4	9.30**
Assimilation Index	4.4	7.1	3.7	1.9	2.0	2.4	4.04*
Composite of Ego Involvement Index	7.3	9.7	6.4	5.2	4.9	5.8	4.09*
Expectancy:							
Internal-External Score	11.0	11.0	9.8	9.6	12.0	11.2	NS

*p.<.05
**p.<.01

highly negative toward work after their CEP experiences. As the ADI scores show, by the time of the six-month follow-up the dropouts were accepting almost all of the negative items into their own attitudes and were rejecting most of the positive items.

Strength of attitude, however, increased in both groups. This produced a situation in which the overall attitudes of program completers and dropouts diverged considerably. On one hand, the program completers remained at a slightly positive level and came to hold these attitudes more strongly. The dropouts, on the other hand, became much more negative toward work and also increased the strength of their attitudes. Expectancies did not significantly vary according to CEP status.

The effects of employment experiences subsequent to CEP participation are analyzed independently in Table 5-5. Most of the overall relationships are not statistically significant, indicating that employment experiences, surprisingly, did not affect attitudes as much as did the CEP experience. The attitude direction measures did produce a significant comparison at the time of follow-up, indicating that those who were employed at this time were more positive toward work than those who were not employed. But there were no differences in the strength of these attitudes. Thus it appears that the CEP experience, itself, had a greater effect upon attitudes than the employment experiences which followed.

The interaction of program effects with employment effects is shown in Table 5-6. The comparison here is between clients who were "successful" (completed CEP, found a job almost immediately, and had a job at the six month follow-up) and those who were "unsuccessful" (dropped out of CEP, did not find a job). In terms of attitude direction, the successful clients did not change over time. There was, however, a slight tendency for the unsuccessful clients to become more negative, especially at the end of the follow-up period, but this was only marginally significant. Although the successful clients did not alter the direction of their attitudes, there was a strengthening of the previously held orientations. This table also shows that the rise in expectations over time was found in the successful clients but not in those who were unsuccessful.

Another set of figures demonstrates the dangers inherent in attempting to make predictions concerning future CEP success or employment success based upon a knowledge of clients' prior attitudes and expectancies. As Table 5-7 demonstrates, both the regular attitude scale and the perceptual indicators were not consistently able to differentiate future success from failure by their pretest measurements. Although CEP experiences and employment experiences led to changes in attitude and expectancy, they were not determined by a client's pre-CEP orientation.

No reference has been made thus far to the group of ex antes (those persons approached by CEP or indicating interest in CEP who never entered the program). This is because attitude data were collected for only 97 people from this group (less than 50 percent) and were collected only at one point in time. It was possible, however, to make a comparison with the attitudes and expectancies of the ex antes. It was demonstrated in a previous

Table 5-5

Effects of Employment Experiences on Attitude and Expectancy over Time

Variable	Before CEP Experience		Immediately After CEP Experience		Six-Month Follow-Up		F	Overall F-Ratio
	Unemployed at Follow-up	Employed at Follow-up	Unemployed at Follow-up	Employed at Follow-up	Unemployed at Follow-up	Employed at Follow-up		
Direction of Attitude:								
Attitude Direction Index	5.1	6.2	3.1	5.3	2.3	4.8	2.24**	NS
Self-Rating	4.9	5.2	4.5	5.2	4.5	5.0	NS	NS
Composite ADI	10.0	11.5	7.6	10.5	6.9	9.8	2.27**	NS
Strength of Attitude:								
Number of Categories Used	2.87	2.76	2.80	2.66	3.13	2.94	NS	NS
Assimilation Index	3.4	5.6	3.4	5.3	0.9	2.3	NS	NS
Composite Ego Involvement Index	6.3	8.4	6.2	7.9	4.0	5.3	NS	NS
Expectancy:								
Internal-External Score	11.4	11.6	10.6	10.4	11.4	12.0	NS	NS

**p.<.01

Table 5-6

Interaction of CEP Experiences and Employment Experiences over Time

Variable	Successful Clients†			F-Ratio	Unsuccessful Clients†			F-Ratio	Overall F-Ratio
	Before CEP	After CEP	Follow-up		Before CEP	After CEP	Follow-up		
Direction of Attitude:									
Attitude Direction Index	6.4	5.6	5.4	NS	4.0	3.5	0.8	NS	NS
Self-Rating	5.0	5.2	5.2	NS	5.3	5.3	4.4	NS	4.02*
Composite ADI	11.4	10.7	10.6	NS	9.3	8.7	5.2	NS	NS
Strength of Attitude:									
Number of Categories Used	2.9	2.7	2.9	NS	2.7	2.8	3.4	NS	NS
Assimilation Index	5.4	6.9	2.3	5.23**	5.7	3.3	5.2	NS	NS
Composite Ego Involvement Index	8.4	9.6	5.2	5.06**	8.3	6.0	8.6	NS	NS
Expectancy:									
Internal-External Score	10.8	10.2	12.0	4.43*	10.0	11.4	10.0	NS	NS

†Successful clients = CEP completers, employed immediately after CEP termination, employed at follow-up.
Unsuccessful clients = CEP dropouts, unemployed immediately after CEP termination, unemployed at follow-up.

*p.<.05
**p.<.01

Table 5-7

Pretest Attitude Scores by Subsequent CEP and Employment Experiences

	CEP Status			Employment Status at Posttest			Employment Status at Follow-up		
	Dropout	Completer	F-Ratio	Unemployed	Employed	F-Ratio	Unemployed	Employed	F-Ratio
Own-Categories Attitude Scale									
Attitude Direction Index	6.1	5.7	NS	5.6	5.9	NS	5.1	6.2	NS
Self-Rating	5.3	4.8	3.95*	4.8	5.1	NS	4.9	5.2	NS
Composite ADI	11.4	10.5	NS	10.4	10.9	NS	10.0	11.5	NS
Perceptual Indicators									
Number of Work Stimuli Seen First									
Verbal	4.0	3.2	NS	3.2	3.6	NS	3.3	3.6	NS
Pictorial	1.5	1.4	NS	1.7	1.3	NS	1.2	1.3	NS
Number of Non-work Stimuli Seen First									
Verbal	1.9	2.2	NS	2.1	2.0	NS	2.8	1.7	NS
Pictorial	3.1	2.7	NS	2.4	2.7	NS	3.0	2.7	NS

*p.<.05

table (5-4) that the CEP completers underwent a slight decline in attitude from pretest to posttest and that the dropouts suffered a much more dramatic decline. Thus at the time of posttest, the attitudes of the dropouts were much more negative, and stronger, than those of the completers. As Table 5-8 shows, at this point in time the ex antes fell between the completers and dropouts in terms of both attitude strength and direction. This pattern is very similar to many presented in Chapter 4--the ex antes often occupy an intermediate position between the completers and dropouts. A comparison of the employed and unemployed ex antes indicated no difference in their attitudes toward work. Although the completers had become slightly more negative toward work, they were still significantly more positive than the ex antes. The dropouts, who started out at approximately the same level as the completers, dropped to a point significantly lower than the ex antes. Thus, it would appear that a successful CEP experience was able to at least maintain attitudes at a fairly even level, while an unsuccessful experience in CEP created a much more negative orientation in those who had had it. The implication of this finding, of course, is that if programs such as this are going to be offered, much care must be taken to maximize the positive experiences of their clients and to hold negative experiences to a minimum. A consequence of failing in this attempt could be a magnification of the problems of a minority of those persons the program is designed to help.

Table 5-8

Attitudinal Comparison of Completers, Dropouts, and Ex Antes
(Post-program Attitudes)

	Completer	Dropout	Ex Ante	F-Ratio
Direction of Attitude:				
Attitude Direction Index	4.2	1.3	3.5	4.85*
Self-Rating	4.7	4.2	4.4	4.98*
Composite ADI	8.9	5.5	7.9	5.16*
Strength of Attitude:				
Number of Categories Used	2.8	2.5	2.9	7.08**
Assimilation Index	3.7	1.9	2.1	3.97*
Composite Ego Involvement Index	6.4	4.4	5.0	3.87*
Expectancy:				
Internal-External Score	4.9	4.8	4.0	13.95**

*p.<.05
**p.<.01

WORK ATTITUDES ASCERTAINED IN THE FOLLOW-UP INTERVIEWS

Changes in the Instrument

In the second phase of the study it was decided to change the method of administering the work attitude measures. The interviewers reported considerable difficulty with the own-categories method. The respondents did not seem to make a distinction between "how a statement makes work sound" and their own agreement or disagreement with the statement. In effect, their own-categories sort appeared to be a sort into statements with which they agreed or disagreed, or about which they were undecided.

To test whether the sort into piles that "belonged together" and the stated personal agreement with these piles were yielding different kinds of data, a number of analyses were made. The own-category sorts obtained during the first phase of the study were scored by the number of piles they were sorted into. The pile that made work sound worse was scored 1, the next pile 2, and so on. The piles were also scored by the labels assigned to them by a subject. Double negative signs (--), which indicated strongest disagreement with the items in the pile, were scored 1 and double positive signs (++), which indicated strongest agreement, were scored 5. A single negative was scored 2, undecided 3, and single positive 4. These weights were summed separately for the piles and labels and correlated. The summed scores correlated .73 for the pretest and .62 for the posttest. The size of this correlation demonstrates that the separate scores contain much of the same information. That is, the items that made work sound bad were those with which the respondents personally disagreed; the items that made work sound good were those with which they agreed.

These correlations were not artifacts of the manner in which the scores were derived. A respondent could sort the items so that the first pile contained the most negative items about work and then say that he personally agreed most with that pile. If a substantial proportion of the respondents did this, it would yield a high negative correlation. If some did this and others did not, the results would be a correlation approximating zero. The positive correlation shows that the sort of the items and the labels assigned to them were largely in agreement.

With this information it was decided to convert the own-categories items into a standard Likert-type attitude scale that required the respondents to express only their degree of agreement with each item. The weights assigned to the items were used in standard Likert analyses (see Edwards, 1957) and the items that demonstrated the most internal consistency, discriminating ability, and stability over time were selected to be used in the follow-up interviews. (A complete description of the analyses is reported in Appendix B-2.) Twenty-three items met all the criteria and were administered in a card sort format, one item per card. The interviewer shuffled the cards before each administration and asked the respondent to sort them into five piles from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." Labels for the piles were arranged in front of the respondent.

Items that were favorable toward work were scored 1 for a strongly disagree to 5 for strongly agree. The seven items that were negative toward work were scored in reverse. For the 123 respondents who participated in both the post-program and the follow-up interviews, the 23 items from their own-category sorts were rescored to yield scores which, it was thought, would be comparable to the Likert scales. The rescored items, however, did not correlate well with the scores calculated from the original 40-item deck. The 17 items that were dropped had considerable influence on the total scores and their elimination did not have consistent effects across subjects.

Work Attitudes in Four Groups

Because of these changes in the measure of work attitude, it is not possible to present comparisons from post-program to follow-up; all that can be given are the intergroup comparisons obtained at follow-up. The distributions for four of the main groups are shown in Figure 5-5; the means and standard deviations for these groups are listed in Table 5-9.

Table 5-9

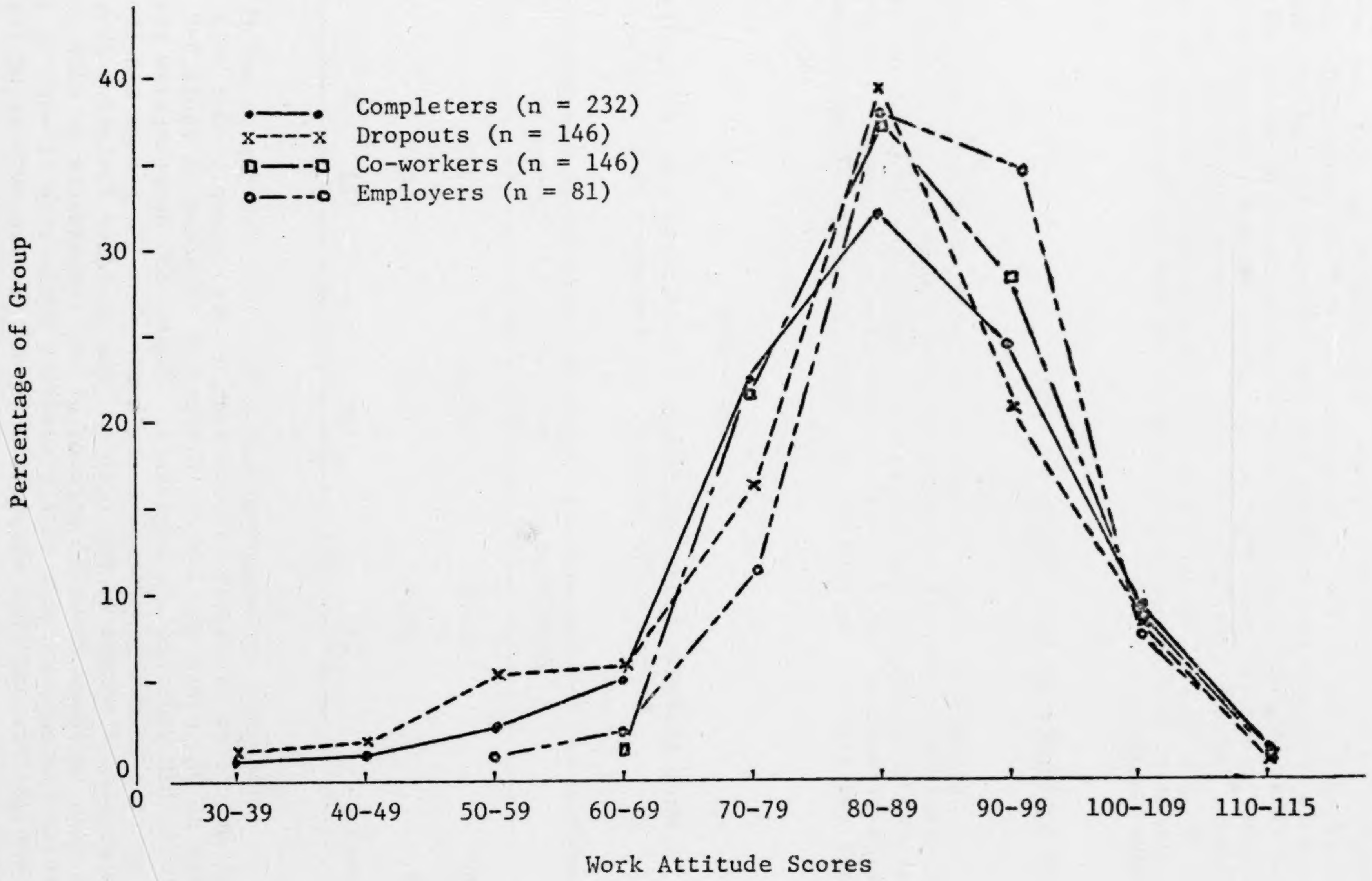
Work Attitude Means and Standard Deviations for CEP Completers, Dropouts, Co-workers, and Employers at Follow-up

	Completer	Dropout	Co-worker	Employer
Mean	85.8	83.8	87.9	88.0
S.D.	15.9	15.4	14.5	10.1
Number	232	146	121	81

The most striking impression from both the figure and the table is the high degree of similarity across such diverse groups. Out of a possible range of 92 points the largest difference in means in Table 5-9 is 4.2 points between CEP dropouts and employers. Figure 5-5 demonstrates the high degree of overlap in the percentage distributions of the groups and the relatively low degree of spread in the scores. One standard deviation above and below the mean includes about 80 percent of the respondents in each group. These results strongly suggest that a positive evaluation of work is quite general in our society and that evaluation is accepted as much among the CEP participants as it is among personnel officials of large companies. The CEP participants were not hard to employ because they held negative attitudes toward work.

Figure 5-5

Distribution of Work Attitude Scores for Completers, Dropouts, Co-workers, and Employers



This widespread positive evaluation of work made the work attitude measure a poor predictor of actual work performance. In Chapter 8 several multiple regressions of employment indices are presented. Measures of work attitude were not significantly associated with any of these indices. Nor were variations in work attitude systematically related to any of the other major variables used for analysis.

Ranking of Job Features

The final measure of general job attitudes obtained from the respondents consisted of a ranking task. Each respondent was presented with a list of eight attractive job features and was asked to rank these in the order of their importance to him personally. The eight features and descriptive phrases were as follows: (1) good working conditions (not too dirty, too hot, or too cold); (2) friendly co-workers (nice people to work with); (3) a chance for advancement or promotion; (4) having a job that other people think is a good one (status); (5) security (being sure of regular work); (6) good pay (enough to afford a few extras); (7) a supervisor who is easy to get along with; and (8) work I enjoy doing (things to do that interest me). The feature which a respondent indicated was most important was ranked 1, the next most important 2, and so on until all eight were ranked by each respondent.

The mean rankings for the CEP completer, dropout, and co-worker groups are reported in Table 5-10. Also listed are the rank orders of the means for the groups. In addition, the table includes the ranks for seven of the features based on a compilation of the results of sixteen previous studies employing similar techniques (Herzberg et al., 1957).

As with many of the other measures of work attitudes, the most striking characteristic of the rankings is their very close similarity. The CEP groups and the co-worker group ranked the job features in almost exactly the same order of desirability, indicating that the respondents tended to evaluate jobs by practically identical criteria. Good pay emerged as the most important characteristic to members of both CEP groups; it was ranked second, to enjoyable work, by the co-workers. Conversely, enjoyable work was ranked second by the CEP dropouts and tied for second with security in the rankings of the completers. Security averaged third priority for both the CEP dropouts and the co-workers. Advancement, good working conditions, friendly co-workers, good supervision, and job status, in that order, completed the rankings of all three groups of respondents. Rank-order correlations among the three groups exceeded .95 and all were significant beyond the .01 level.

The order of job feature rankings yielded by the respondents in this study differs somewhat from that compiled by Herzberg et al. (1957). Respondents in these sixteen studies ranked the factors in the following order of importance: security, advancement, pay, enjoyable work, supervision, co-workers (social aspects of the job), and working conditions. Spearman-rho correlations between these rankings and those of each group of respondents in the present study were all positive but nonsignificant.

Table 5-10

Desirability of Job Factors Ranked by and Correlated among Completer, Dropout, and Co-worker Groups and Subjects in Earlier Studies

Job Factor	CEP Completers		CEP Dropouts		Co-workers		$\overline{X}$ Rank From Previous Studies
	$\overline{X}$	Rank	$\overline{X}$	Rank	$\overline{X}$	Rank	
Pay	2.9	1	2.8	1	3.3	2	3
Work I enjoy	3.8	2.5	3.4	2	3.1	1	4
Security	3.8	2.5	4.0	3.5	3.9	3	1
Advancement	4.1	4	4.0	3.5	4.0	4	2
Work conditions	4.3	5	4.2	5	4.2	5	7
Friendly co-workers	4.7	6	5.1	6	4.7	6	6
Supervision	5.2	7	5.3	7	5.3	7	5
Status	7.0	8	7.1	8	7.4	8	a

Rank Order Correlations of Mean Rankings

	CEP Completers	CEP Dropouts	Co-workers
CEP Dropouts	.982**		
Co-workers	.958**	.970**	
Previous Studies	.631[b]	.559[b]	.536[b]

**p < .01

[a] Status was not included as a job desirability factor in the sixteen studies compiled by Herzberg, Mausner, Peterson, and Capwell (1957).

[b] Based upon correlations of seven factors instead of eight.

Several explanations for the differences between these and the current findings are tenable. First, there was a difference of at least twelve years between the time that Herzberg and his colleagues compiled their rankings and the time of the present study; the general job climate and worker attitudes may have changed appreciably during that period. Second, methodological and procedural differences may exist between the manners in which the present data and the earlier data were collected. This, too, might have influenced the results. A third possibility, and perhaps the most likely of all, is that substantial differences existed between the populations sampled. The present respondents, both CEP participants and co-workers, were a rather homogeneous group in many respects, including employment history, types of jobs held previously, and pay received. Also, of course, they had to have been employed at the same time by the same companies in similar positions in order to have been selected for the present study. These respondents rather uniformly indicated the importance to them of the work itself and the immediate tangible rewards for working, primarily good pay. Subjects in the earlier studies placed more emphasis on job security and chance for advancement. A strong probability exists that subjects in the earlier studies had held better jobs than those in the current groups, that they represented a higher socioeconomic stratum, and assumed that they would receive adequate pay. Thus, they stressed security and advancement.

A separate finding illustrated by Table 5-10 is the relatively low ranking of supervision by the CEP and co-worker groups. Supervision emerged as a factor of considerable importance in the factor analysis of job climate data derived from most recently held jobs (to be discussed in Chapter 7). This may have been an artifact caused by the number of supervisor items included in the questionnaire that was analyzed, but this does not seem a compelling argument. If attitudes toward pay, for instance, were a primary determinant of reactions to jobs it would have had high correlation with other ratings. It did not,however, and the factor on which it had a high loading accounted for only a small part of the variance in the resulting matrix. It seems more likely that the explanation lies in the interpretive or transmission function of the supervisor. To the low-level worker his supervisor represents the company, and in many cases the supervisor has little freedom in carrying out company policy; he is merely the administering agent of that policy. A supervisor who pushes his workers to reach production quotas set by higher management is likely to be seen as a hard driving boss, especially by workers with limited job exposure, no matter how warm and friendly he may be personally. And if the supervisor is considered to be hard on workers, the company will be seen as a hard one to work for. Thus while supervision in the abstract assumes a rather low importance, it seems to have a pervasive influence on how a worker perceives his job climate.

SUMMARY

Attitudes toward work are often assumed to be negative among the hard-to-employ. Unemployment is often cited as the consequence of these negative attitudes--people are unemployed because they do not like to work. This simplistic explanation was examined in considerable detail in this chapter. Results were presented from a longitudinal sample whose attitudes toward work were assessed before and immediately after participation in CEP and again six months later. These results indicate that the respondents' verbal reports of their attitudes agreed significantly with perceptual measures which were less susceptible to deliberate distortion. Their attitudes as measured by both techniques were generally positive. The results also indicate that work attitudes were responsive to differences in the success of CEP and work experiences among participants, but that measures obtained when the participants entered the program could not predict their post-program experiences.

For the follow-up interviewing of the total sample the attitude items were modified to yield an overall measure of attitude toward work. These items were administered to the CEP participants, co-workers, and employer representatives. The distributions of attitude scores were highly similar in all samples, and the means did not differ by more than five points. These results demonstrate that the high evaluation of work common in our society is shared by the hard-to-employ. The CEP participants were also quite similar to the co-workers in their mean rankings of eight attractive job features. Both the participant and co-worker rankings, however, differed somewhat from those obtained from other populations. The respondents in this study tended to stress pay and enjoyable work more than security and chances for advancement.

Chapter 6

REACTIONS TO CEP EXPERIENCES

The Concentrated Employment Program is an attempt to bring together previously fragmented efforts to serve individuals who have difficulty obtaining suitable employment. Two important assumptions on which CEP was developed were that a special effort was necessary to overcome the discouragement and alienation of the hard-core unemployed, and that the disadvantaged needed a variety of special services to prepare them to hold jobs. Active efforts to seek out the disadvantaged were to be made, as their history of failure and rejection was thought to deter those who most needed help from seeking it. When possible, individuals from the community to be served were to be utilized in outreach efforts that extended into the neighborhoods. The residents of the target area were to provide a bridge to the community, and to give evidence of the commitment of CEP to the best interests of the area. Once members of the disadvantaged community were contacted, it was believed necessary to maintain rapport between agency personnel and their clients since these clients--because of the indifference they had experienced in traditional agencies--would not continue on their own initiative.

The CEP attempted to overcome the alienation of the target population and to replace the rejecting and hostile aspects of existing institutions. The first section of this chapter gives some indication of how well the Columbus CEP achieved this goal by presenting the evaluations of individuals who had varying degrees of success with the program. This is not meant to serve as a critique of the program; rather, it is an attempt to identify possible relations between individual perceptions of the program and success in it.

The second aspect of the assumptions concerning existing institutions, which CEP was designed to overcome, was that there was too much fragmentation of services. Prior to the initiation of CEP in 1967, the federally supported manpower effort consisted of many discrete programs which often had overlapping and sometimes conflicting objectives. CEP was an effort to focus these programs and resources, to bring them together in a coherent system under one organizational sponsor, and to fund them through a single channel. Of greater immediate significance to the target population was the intent of the CEP to achieve a balance of training opportunities and services of different types to meet the specific needs of individuals. In addition to job placement and training, CEP was to provide such support as coach-recruiters, health services, day care, and legal aid.

How well these services were provided to their clients is the second focus of interest in this chapter. The extent to which services were needed and received by completers and dropouts is discussed. The participants' reactions to intake, processing, orientation, training, and supportive services were obtained at interviews shortly after each respondent terminated his contact with CEP. Overall evaluative comments were also solicited, both immediately after CEP, and at follow-up interviews which were conducted with some respondents nine to ten months after they left the program.

The results to be discussed below may be briefly anticipated at this point. The CEP itself was generally viewed quite favorably by ex antes, completers, and dropouts. Reasons for not participating in the program, withdrawing from it, or being dissatisfied with it were most frequently job related. That is, many respondents saw the CEP as unable to provide good jobs. Supportive services were received by only a small proportion of completers, and even fewer dropouts, during their participation in CEP. At the follow-up interview, few respondents mentioned needing help from CEP other than another job placement. In general, feelings of rejection were not apparent, and there were few differences among successful and unsuccessful respondents to which their varying degrees of success could be attributed.

EXPERIENCES COMMON TO EX ANTES, COMPLETERS, AND DROPOUTS

As noted in the introduction, one assumption of CEP was that it was necessary to make a special effort to contact the hard-core unemployed who had become alienated from and discouraged with existing institutions. Information concerning why some individuals, who had heard of the program and expressed some interest in it, failed to enroll (the ex antes) was relevant to this assumption. No attempt was made to ascertain the degree to which ex antes were typical of eligible individuals in the target population who had heard of CEP but never responded to it. However, their attitudes toward CEP will give some indication of whether they were characterized by alienation and discouragement in terms of their contacts with existing institutions, and particularly CEP.

Attitudes of Ex Antes

The first question about CEP that was asked of the ex antes referred to how people, in general, felt about it. The majority of the answers (see Table 6-1) were positive or neutral; 13 percent gave negative evaluations. This same percentage was found in response to a question on why some ex antes never visited the CEP offices. Table 6-2 indicates that two out of three of the ex antes who were interviewed did visit CEP. Of those who did not, the primary reasons they gave were a poor opinion of the program, prevention by external circumstances, or personal disqualification.

Among these respondents who did not visit the CEP office, there is some evidence of discouragement, both with themselves and with institutions. It is likely that most of their objections could have been overcome by a skillful recruiter. A majority of the ex antes were interested enough to visit the CEP office. The reactions of those who were exposed to recruitment, intake, forms, and testing are presented in Tables 6-3 through 6-10, together with the replies of the completers and program dropouts. The results shown in these tables demonstrate that the experiences of the ex antes, with one exception, did not differ materially from those of the other respondents. The exception was that fewer ex antes knew someone at the CEP the first time they visited the office. Typically, however, the reasons for their failure to follow through on their initial interest do not appear to lie with the way they were treated when they visited the office.

Recruitment

Table 6-3 indicates features of CEP the respondents reported were described to them when they were recruited and those which they were most interested in. While the recruiters mentioned many features, jobs and job training were emphasized, and these were what most interested the respondents. The other features--basic education, orientation, counseling, and guidance--may have sounded good as part of the recruiting pitch, but it was the possibility of jobs that was important.

The ex antes do not appear to differ from the completers and dropouts in terms of what they expected or wanted CEP to provide for them. In addition to the pervasive emphasis on obtaining a job, there were few differences between the ex antes and the other participants in the types of job wanted. Table 6-4 lists the types of jobs the respondents said they wanted, coded into the categories of the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*. There is a relative lack of high occupational aspiration in all groups, and the ex antes certainly did not appear to want "better" jobs than completers and dropouts. Instead, the preferences expressed seem rather attainable and realistic.

Perhaps the most significant figures in this table are the proportions which pertain to those who could not or did not indicate occupational preferences. When the "no preference" and "not ascertained" percentages are added together, they total from one-half to two-thirds of the respondents. This lack of occupational goals presents a major difficulty to any program that attempts to place the hard-to-employ. It means that its service should be much more extensive than simply helping

Table 6-1

Ex Antes' Perceptions of People's General Feelings about CEP

Feeling	%
Positive, good	41
Neutral, alright	28
Negative, poor	13
Not ascertained	18
Total	100
Number	211

Table 6-2

Reasons Why Some Ex Antes Never Visited CEP Offices

Reasons	%	
Never visited because:	32	
negative evaluation of CEP		13
prevented by external circumstances (illness, jail, moved)		7
personally disqualified oneself (police record, drugs, children)		6
found preferred alternative		2
not ascertained		3
Visited	65	
Not ascertained	3	
Total	100	
Number	211	

Table 6-3

Features of CEP Respondents Reported Were Described to Them and of Interest to Them

Features	What Was Described			What They Were Interested In		
	Completer	Dropout	Ex Ante	Completer	Dropout	Ex Ante
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Jobs	83	75	78	77	70	73
Job Training	56	57	66	26	37	44
Job Counseling and Guidance	24	13	30	4	--	2
Orientation	27	18	46	4	4	2
Basic Education	29	18	32	7	4	4
Other	14	11	8			
Total[a]	233	192	260	118	115	125
Number responding[b]	293	93	107	290	92	129

[a] Total exceeds 100 percent because respondents reported more than one feature.

[b] Number includes all completers and dropouts (except for those not ascertained) but only those ex antes who talked to a recruiter under "what was described," and those who visited the CEP office under "what was of interest."

Table 6-4

Occupational Categories of Jobs Respondents Were Interested in during First Visit to CEP

DOT Category	Completers	Dropouts	Ex Antes
	%	%	%
Professional, technical, managerial	8	4	4
Clerical, sales	12	2	9
Service	5	3	4
Processing	*	1	1
Machine trades	18	8	12
Bench work	2	4	5
Structural work	3	5	8
Miscellaneous	2	3	1
No preference	26	37	28
Not ascertained	22	31	28
Total	98	98	100
Number[a]	295	93	137

*Less than one-half of 1 percent.

[a] Number includes all completers and dropouts but only those ex antes who visited the CEP office.

the individual to find a job that is appropriate for him. Because a majority of participants are unsure as to what they want, the program, if it is to counsel them honestly and not merely get them jobs, should help them define their occupational preferences. In other words, it should assist participants to crystallize their vocational goals. Such crystallization, however, is the end result of a long process of vocational maturation. The two- or four-week orientation program would have to emphasize occupational familiarization to have any impact on this developmental process. As presently constituted, it is devoted more to enhancing racial pride and self-esteem than to disseminating occupational information.

Intake and Processing

The only area in which the ex antes differed considerably from the other respondents was in the number who knew someone in CEP when they went to sign up (Table 6-5). There was a difference of approximately 20 percentage points between the ex antes and the others. The lack of an acquaintance in CEP may partially explain why some of the ex antes did not actively participate in the program. As Table 6-6 indicates, however, the ex antes did not differ in the proportion who were accompanied by someone they knew when they first visited the CEP office.

Table 6-7 reports the reactions of the respondents to the CEP staff on the first day they visited the program. In general their reactions were highly favorable. Very few were conscious of feelings of condescension, and about half felt someone on the staff, most frequently a counselor, was really pleasant to them. The most frequent objection to the processing procedure on the first day concerned the amount of time spent waiting. As indicated in Table 6-8, most respondents did not suggest any improvements in processing; in fact, ex antes were the least likely to see a need for change.

One comment frequently heard about the hard-core unemployed is that they are repelled by the paperwork associated with most job placement and job training programs. The respondents were asked to estimate the number of forms they completed and the number of interviews they had while in CEP. The assumption was that those respondents who were more disturbed would estimate a higher number. What was actually found (Table 6-9) were fairly similar estimates for the completers and dropouts and, reflecting their limited contact with CEP, substantially lower estimates for the ex antes. The respondents were also asked if they felt the forms were necessary or if they were bothered by the interviews. Only about 10 percent of each group felt the forms were not necessary, and 6 percent were bothered by the interviews.

The reaction to tests taken while in CEP (Table 6-10) was a bit more negative than the reaction to forms and interviewing. About the same percentage as were annoyed by the forms said the tests bothered them, but about one-third thought the tests did not show what the respondents could do. (The 50 percent figure for the ex antes must be

Table 6-5

Respondents Who Knew Someone in CEP the First Time They Went to Sign Up

	Completer	Dropout	Ex Ante
	%	%	%
Knew Someone	62	63	44
CEP employee	37	27	26
CEP participant	22	28	18
Not ascertained	2	9	--
Knew no one	38	37	50
Not ascertained	*	--	7
Total	100	100	101
Number[a]	295	93	137

[a] Number includes all completers and dropouts but only those ex antes who visited the CEP office.

*Less than one-half of 1 percent.

Table 6-6

Respondents Who Were Accompanied by People They Knew the First Day They Visited the CEP Office

	Completer	Dropout	Ex Ante
	%	%	%
Accompanied	30	30	29
Friend enrolled	20	18	20
Friend did not	7	9	7
Uncertain, not ascertained	2	3	3
Not accompanied	70	70	64
Not ascertained	*	--	7
Total	100	100	100
Number[a]	295	93	137

[a] Number includes all completers and dropouts but only those ex antes who visited CEP office.

*Less than one-half of 1 percent.

Table 6-7

Respondents' Perceptions of Staff Treatment the First Day They Visited CEP

	Completer	Dropout	Ex Ante
	%	%	%
Staff in general:			
Was pleasant, agreeable	89	83	82
Was indifferent	7	12	8
Looked down on respondent	3	3	4
Not ascertained	1	2	6
Someone on staff was:			
Really pleasant	63	41	53
Offensive	7	9	5
Number[a]	295	93	137

[a]Number includes all completers and dropouts but only those ex antes who visited the CEP office.

Table 6-8

Ways CEP First-Day Processing Could Be Improved, as Seen by Respondents

	Completer	Dropout	Ex Ante
	%	%	%
Needs change	30	27	18
Shorter waiting time	15	18	7
Shorter forms	3	--	3
Other improvements	10	5	6
Not ascertained	2	4	2
No suggestions	66	68	73
Not ascertained	4	5	9
Total	100	100	100
Number[a]	295	93	137

[a]Number includes all completers and dropouts but only those ex antes who visited the CEP office.

Table 6-9

Average Estimated Number of Forms and Interviews While in CEP

	Completer	Dropout	Ex Ante
Forms completed	5.7	6.5	2.8
Number[a]	277	88	122
Interviews	4.1	3.5	2.4
Number[a]	255	77	87

[a] Not ascertained, eliminated from calculation.

considered with caution for it is based on only 30 respondents.) Those who questioned the accuracy of the tests claimed they could really do better than the tests indicated.

The data on the intake and processing experiences of the participants and ex antes were, in general, favorable. The information discussed earlier in this chapter reflects almost the entire extent of ex antes' contacts with the CEP. It does not appear that the ex antes failed to continue in CEP because they had different aspirations or felt they were treated differently from those applicants who entered the program.

Ex Antes' Reasons for Not Participating

The ex antes who visited the CEP offices were asked specifically why they did not continue. The reasons they gave are presented in Table 6-11.

First it should be noted that a substantial proportion did not answer the question. For those who did answer, the reasons most frequently mentioned concerned jobs: the CEP either had none or had inferior ones, or the respondents got jobs by themselves or could not wait for CEP referral. About one in five of the ex antes reported an apparent lack of interest by CEP or a specific problem with a CEP staff member as their reasons for not participating. The final set of reasons related to personal problems--mainly physical health--that prevented participation.

Questions which require an individual to analyze his own reasons for acting in certain ways are traditionally suspect; the opportunities for deliberate or unconscious distortion are considerable. The attempts to identify personal characteristics or experiences with CEP which are particularly descriptive of the ex antes, however, were not productive.

Table 6-10

Reactions of Respondents Who Took Tests in CEP

	Completer	Dropout	Ex Ante
% of group who took tests	78	63	22
Number[a]	295	93	137
Of those taking tests			
% bothered	9	13	7
% who feel test inaccurate	33	31	50
Number	230	61	30

[a] Number includes all completers and dropouts but only those ex antes who visited the CEP office.

Table 6-11

Reasons Ex Antes Who Visited CEP Offices Gave for Not Participating

Reasons	%	
Job Related	29	
No jobs available		15
Got a job on own		9
Needed job immediately		3
CEP had inferior jobs		2
Sent to interviews, never hired		1
CEP related	22	
No one seemed interested or wanted to help		12
Specific problem with a staff member		7
Income, age requirement		3
Personal problems	20	
Medical, illness, pregnancy		10
Went to jail		3
Left town		3
No transportation		2
No babysitter		1
Feared reduction in welfare check		1
Not ascertained	29	
Total	100	
Number	137	

The ex antes did not differ very much from the completers or program dropouts. The only alternative remaining, therefore, is to accept the reasons presented in Tables 6-2 and 6-11 as the explanations of why the ex antes did not choose to participate in CEP.

EXPERIENCES OF COMPLETERS AND DROPOUTS

Employment Service Counseling

The final step in the processing cycle for about half the participants was an interview with a counselor from the Employment Service. Because very few ex antes had these interviews, they are not included in this section. To many poor people, particularly blacks, the Employment Service has a negative image. This probably stems from its association with unemployment compensation and its role in repeated unsuccessful job hunts. The participants who met with Employment Service counselors were thus asked about these contacts. Their responses, shown in Table 6-12, indicate that the dropouts reported considerably more problems than the completers. These problems largely centered around the inability of the counselors to find jobs for them.

Table 6-12

Contact with Employment Service Counselor

	Completer	Dropout
% of group who met with ES counselor	47	50
Number	295	93
Of those who met counselor		
% who made job plans	66	54
as to type "of job"	27	28
lined up job	17	4
assigned to training	6	9
% who had problems with counselor	6	24
Number	136	46

Reactions to Orientation and Training

This section considers the reactions of CEP participants who attended the two-week prevocational orientation program or one of the training components. Because none of the ex antes continued this far in CEP, they are not discussed here.

The prevocational orientation program of CEP consisted of two weeks of instruction and group discussion which focused on five basic areas. These areas and the respondents' overall reactions to them are shown in Table 6-13. It can be seen that reactions were generally quite favorable. Unfavorable comments most often referred to the lack of discipline and incompetence of the instructors. The second half of Table 6-13 presents less favorable reactions to the orientation program. These answers were given in response to a question on whether the program prepared the participants to get jobs. About half of the participants who successfully completed CEP thought it did, but less than one-third of the dropouts agreed. The orientation program appears to have achieved its objectives of enhancing racial pride, but its occupational usefulness is questionable.

Approximately half of the completers and dropouts were placed in skill programs. Table 6-14 shows the percentage of respondents who participated in various types of job training programs, and Table 6-15 shows the DOT categories of the jobs for which the programs prepared the trainees. The most disturbing figure in this table is the percentage who said the training did not prepare them for specific jobs. More than one-third of the completers and half of the dropouts who took training said that they were not prepared for specific jobs. Furthermore, fewer than one-third said the training they received was the type they had hoped to get when they entered CEP. This lack of vocational direction in the training programs unfortunately reflects tendencies prevalent among the CEP participants. It would be far better if their training counteracted rather than reinforced these tendencies.

The answers to four questions concerning the quality of the programs the trainees took are reported in Table 6-16. Most of the trainees gave the training they received a favorable evaluation. The negative comments received were largely the same as those about the orientation program, that is, lack of class discipline and incompetence of teachers. The dropouts were consistently more negative in their evaluations of the training programs, but it is impossible to say whether this was a cause or a result of their having withdrawn from CEP. Even though the dropouts were more negative, a majority still felt the training had been useful. All of the dropout percentages must be interpreted with caution, of course, because of the small number who were in training components.

At the time of these first interviews, shortly after contact with CEP, only about half of the completers and one-third of the dropouts felt that the two-week orientation program prepared them to get jobs. At the

Table 6-13

Reactions to Prevocational Orientation Program

Reactions to Components	Completers	Dropouts
	%	%
Ethnic history		
Favorable	79	80
Unfavorable	12	11
Job orientation		
Favorable	72	51
Unfavorable	9	20
Basic education		
Favorable	70	46
Unfavorable	7	11
Personal grooming		
Favorable	56	52
Unfavorable	12	18
Consumer education		
Favorable	51	48
Unfavorable	15	16
Feel two weeks prepared you to get a job		
Yes	55	30
No	38	61
Undecided	4	2
Not ascertained	3	7
Number	243	61
N as % of total group	82%	66%

Table 6-14

Respondents Who Reported They Took Job Training

Skill Program	Completer	Dropout
	%	%
MDTA	22	15
Special Impact	13	10
New Careers	6	4
On-the-job	5	2
Neighborhood Youth Corps	1	4
No job training	46	52
Not ascertained	7	13
Total	100	100
Number	295	93

Table 6-15

Type of Job That Training Prepared Respondent For

DOT Category	Completer	Dropout
	%	%
Professional, technical, managerial	6	3
Clerical, sales	19	6
Service	4	12
Processing	1	3
Machine trades	13	3
Bench work	3	9
Structural work	6	9
No specific job	37	52
Not ascertained	11	3
Total	100	100
Number	139	33

follow-up interviews, completers and dropouts were asked how useful their CEP training was in their daily work. (It should be recalled that this follow-up sample included only participants who had not been placed in specific job-training programs, and partly overlapped the original sample.) The respondents' general assessment of the usefulness of CEP training (prevocational or basic education) for the jobs they actually held was not very favorable.

Table 6-16

Reactions to Training Programs

	Completers	Dropouts
	%	%
CEP classes compared to high school		
Better	54	45
Undecided	17	9
Worse	26	33
Not ascertained	3	12
Did CEP classes have necessary equipment		
Yes	71	48
Undecided	5	12
No	21	36
Not ascertained	3	3
Rating of training		
Very good	28	27
Good	56	36
Not so good	8	21
Poor	8	9
Not ascertained	--	6
Has training been useful to you		
Yes	76	61
No	21	30
Still attending	3	--
Not ascertained	--	9
Number	139	33

Only 35 percent of the entire completer group reported that CEP preparation had been beneficial for their performance on the first jobs they had obtained through CEP. Some indicated that CEP had provided them with job-related skills, such as proper employee behavior or how to apply for jobs (13%). Others reported that they had gained personal skills such as information on personal hygiene, better self-control, or improved interpersonal behavior which they had found helpful (11%). Unfortunately, almost two-thirds of this group--participants who had stayed with CEP for the entire program--could report nothing in their training which had proven useful on the first jobs they had obtained through CEP.

The smaller sample of completers who had also held jobs which were not obtained from CEP were equally unfavorable in their reports of the value of what they had learned at CEP. Only 22 percent of them saw the training as having contributed anything to their performance on their first non-CEP obtained jobs. Dropouts were no different from completers in their evaluations of the usefulness of CEP training; only 24 percent of them reported that CEP training had been helpful.

Most participants apparently felt that the orientation program did not provide them with skills which were useful on jobs, despite the fact that few respondents gave unfavorable evaluations of the actual training they received. The most negative attitudes expressed at follow-up interviews might have been due to changes in evaluation as a result of experience, or to differences in the sample interviewed.

Coordination of Services

A major assumption of the rationale for CEP was that there was a need to provide multiple services to the hard-to-employ to facilitate their obtaining good jobs. The orientation program and job placement were viewed as necessary but not sufficient conditions for employment. The individuals in the target population were assumed to be burdened with several interrelated problems, to be discouraged, and to have given up hope of changing conditions in their lives. The coach-recruiters were the major source of support and encouragement to overcome these problems. A training allowance was provided during the orientation program--to encourage the participants to stay, as well as to ease financial difficulties. Finally, it was recognized that some participants would require such services as day care, health care, and legal aid, so these were provided by the CEP. The extent to which these services were provided to completers and dropouts, and how they were evaluated by the recipients, will be discussed in this section. In general, dropouts were somewhat less likely than completers to feel that they benefited from these supportive services.

Coaches

The coach-recruiters were assigned to seek out suitable participants, to encourage them to take part in CEP, and to maintain contact with them until they were placed in jobs. The data shown in Table 6-17 indicate that slightly more than half of the participants reported having had regular coaches. Those who did have coaches generally felt positive toward them. About three out of four participants saw their coaches as available, helpful, and interested in them. However, fewer dropouts than completers felt they were helped by their coaches.

Table 6-17

Reactions to Coaches

	Completer	Dropout
% of group who had a coach	61	52
Number	295	93
Of those who had a coach:		
Mean of estimated contacts per week	3.2	2.4
% who could always contact coach	76	70
% who said coach was helpful with problems	74	47
% who felt coach was really interested	69	67
Number	180	48

Ideally, a CEP should provide follow-up by coaches after a participant stops attending the program, whether or not he is placed on a job. Although sufficient funds were not available for follow-up of all participants, some were contacted by coaches after their participation in CEP. At the follow-up interviews conducted several months after the CEP experience, completers and dropouts were questioned about their post-CEP contacts with coaches.

More completers (42%) than dropouts (33%) were contacted after leaving CEP, and they were, on the average, contacted more often (2.4 and 1.8 contacts, respectively). Employed and unemployed respondents were about equally likely to have been contacted (38%), but those who were employed reported more contacts than those who were unemployed (2.5 and 1.9, respectively). Respondents who were never employed after CEP were by definition the most likely to have needed some help, but were less likely than any other group to have been contacted (22%).

Training Allowance

Training allowances were paid to all participants who attended the two-week orientation program and the training components. These allowances were considered as "pay" by the participants. Table 6-18 shows that a small but significant percentage had some problem with their pay while in CEP or were confused about how they would be paid. The problems and confusion usually centered around attendance and the forms that had to be completed. Most participants who noted problems claimed they had not been paid all they were due.

Table 6-18

Reactions to CEP Training Allowance

	Completer	Dropout
	%	%
Had problems with (training allowance) pay while in CEP	16	6
CEP payroll system was accurately explained	81	78
Attitude toward amount of pay:		
good, nice, fine	20	15
adequate, enough, OK	47	28
not enough, poor	18	30
not ascertained	15	28
Able to get along on amount received:		
yes	59	32
barely	10	9
no	19	29
not ascertained	13	30
Number	295	93

The amount of pay received varied according to the number of dependents of the trainees. The basic allowance was $49 per week and an additional $5 per week for each of up to six dependents. About two-thirds of the completers felt this was adequate and that they could manage with it. The dropouts tended to be more critical.

Supportive Services

Although the participants were assumed to have multiple problems, only a minority reported receiving supportive services from CEP (Table 6-19). Those who received these services were nearly unanimous in endorsing them.

Table 6-19

Participants Who Received Help from Supportive Services of CEP

	Completer	Dropout
	%	%
Received help[a]	20	10
Health care	9	5
Day care	8	1
Legal aid	4	4
Not ascertained	1	1
Did not receive help	74	70
Not ascertained	6	20
Number	295	93

[a] Sum of separate services exceeds total because three completers and two dropouts received more than one kind of assistance.

A small percentage of the participants interviewed at the follow-up reported that they had received some help from CEP after they left or finished the program. While more than one-third of the respondents were contacted after leaving CEP, only about 15 percent of them reported receiving additional help after leaving. Additional help was reported more frequently by completers (21%) than by dropouts (11%). As indicated in Table 6-20, of those few who did receive additional help, about half were placed in jobs. The placement figure among dropouts reflects participants who re-enrolled after having left during their first enrollment. The dropout-completer designation is based on the results of the first enrollment. The kinds of help categorized as "other" were primarily financial aid and transportation.

Respondents who did not report receiving help were asked whether they had needed any of the type of assistance CEP provided. Approximately half said they had needed help, and most frequently this was job placement

Table 6-20

Additional Help Received after Leaving CEP
by Completers and Dropouts

	Completer	Dropout
	%	%
Received help	21	11
What kind:		
Placement	10	4
Training	3	2
Day care	2	1
Legal aid	*	2
Health care	2	3
Other	7	2
Number reporting help	50	19
Number responding	243	167

*Less than .5 percent.

and training. As would be expected, dropouts reported needing help somewhat more often than did completers. Health care was needed by about 10 percent of completers and dropouts, while reported needs for day care and legal aid were relatively infrequent. The distributions of these responses are given in Table 6-21.

Clearly, few respondents received or needed help other than job placement or training. The emphasis placed on jobs by the participants would indicate that CEP funds and time would be better devoted to job placement than to other supportive services.

Although CEP did not provide assistance to many individuals after their active participation in the program ended, this did not appear to be a particularly cogent failure to the participants; few of them mentioned the lack of follow-up until they were asked about such contacts. Although some respondents complained that they were refused assistance when they were laid off from jobs and returned to CEP, most simply noted that they could have used help. Additionally, the generally positive evaluation of CEP given in response to other questions suggests that the lack of follow-up did not affect attitudes toward CEP.

Table 6-21

Additional Help Needed after Leaving CEP
by Completers and Dropouts

	Completer	Dropout
	%	%
Needed help	43	59
What kind:		
Placement	27	42
Training	10	14
Day Care	3	3
Legal Aid	1	3
Health Care	10	11
Other	5	4
Number needing help	80	85
Number responding*	188	145

*These respondents do not include those who received assistance.

Reasons for Dropping Out

A number of comparisons of the completers and dropouts have indicated the dropouts were often more critical of their experiences in CEP. In comparison to the completers the dropouts were more likely to have had problems with the Employment Service counselors, to have considered their coaches not helpful, and to have criticized the quality of the training and amount of training allowance they received while in CEP. The demographic data presented, however, showed few differences among the groups, except that there were proportionally more males among the dropouts.

A regression analysis was conducted to determine, simultaneously, the independent effects of several of the demographic variables, as well as the effects of the variables related to CEP experiences, on whether or not a participant dropped out. The hypothesis was that the probability of dropping out of CEP was a function of certain personal characteristics as well as reactions to experiences in CEP. To calculate this regression it was necessary to remove those respondents for whom complete data were not available for all 29 variables used in the equation. This resulted in the loss of almost half (42 percent) of the respondents. The figures presented in Table 6-22 are thus based on 224 respondents--168 completers and 56 dropouts--and the distributions of their responses are somewhat different from those reported in the preceding tables. On most of the major demographic characteristics--age, sex, race, marital status, number of dependents, and number of years of school completed--the reduced sample for the regression analysis is quite similar to the total sample. This analysis was based on the sample interviewed shortly after their participation in CEP. Responses from the follow-up interview are not included here.

The label for each of the variables in the equation is given in the first column of Table 6-22. Most of these variables have been the subject of separate tables in other section of this report. In the second and third columns of the table are the means and standard deviations of the variables; the fourth column contains the regression coefficients. Many of the qualitative variables were coded into a categorial, or dummy variable, format. The code used for these variables is presented in Table 8-11 and discussed in greater length in connection with that table.

Only two variables in Table 6-22 are significant at the .05 level or less (two-tail test). These are whether or not the individual was able to get along on the training allowance received while in CEP, and respondents' attitudes toward CEP, reflected in whether they felt they got out of it what they had hoped for when they entered. While the dropouts were more likely to say they were unable to get along on their training allowance, there was no objective evidence--such as greater number of dependents, less earnings in the past twelve months, or a longer period of current unemployment--that would indicate a greater need for money among the dropouts. Regression analysis is a correlational technique and can show only association, not causality. An interpretation of the two main relationships in Table 6-22 would suggest that an inadequate training allowance would more likely be a cause of withdrawal, while dissatisfaction with what CEP accomplished could be both a cause and an effect of having withdrawn. In all, the data examined in Table 6-22 can do little to explain what differentiates the dropout from the completer. The demographic data, which would be available at intake, are of little use in attempting to identify the potential dropout.

The reasons for withdrawal which the dropouts themselves gave are presented in Table 6-23. The main set of reasons are job related. According to these dropouts, because CEP did not supply them with any jobs or with the types of jobs they wanted, they left to find them on their own. About one-fourth left because of negative reactions to CEP. The remainder of the ascertained reasons concerned personal problems which were unrelated to CEP. There is considerable similarity between these reasons given for dropping out to those given by the ex antes for not taking part in CEP (Table 6-11). This similarity once again underscores that the various groups of respondents were much more alike than different.

Most participants who dropped out did so while they were in the orientation program. Fewer than half (41%) said they gave the decision some thought before withdrawing, and about one-quarter discussed it with someone. Only 8 percent discussed their intentions to withdraw with their coaches.

Table 6-22

Factors Tested for Effect on the Probability of Dropping Out of CEP

Variable	Mean	S.D.	Regression Coefficient
Attitude toward pay in CEP	1.98	.63	.01
Get along on CEP pay	2.31	.79	-.12**
Got from CEP what wanted	.54	.49	-.17*
Willing to enter CEP again	.74	.41	-.13
Attended orientation	.78	.41	-.12
Talked to ES counselor	.49	.49	.04
Had regular coach	.62	.47	-.06
Received supportive services	.19	.36	.01
Problems with CEP	.09	.23	.07
Problems with CEP pay	.20	.37	-.14
Problems with transportation	.12	.30	-.02
Referred to job by CEP	.30	.42	-.07
Employed currently	.58	.49	-.09
Age	25.83	9.25	.00
Sex	.76	.43	.10
Physical handicap	.89	.32	.01
Marital status	.29	.45	-.04
Number of dependents	1.24	1.60	-.02
Race	.97	.16	-.01
Public assistance recipient	.85	.36	-.04
Years of school completed	10.24	1.71	-.01
Other federal programs	.26	.51	-.01
Previous employment			
1 to 2 years[a]	.33	.47	.02
3 to 9 years	.31	.46	.05
10 or more	.21	.41	-.04
Estimated hourly earnings, last job	1.78	.63	-.04
Estimated income, last 12 months	1535.58	967.40	.00
Weeks unemployed, current	12.83	14.02	-.00
N	224		
$\bar{R}^2$			.10
F			1.84*

[a] Less than one year entered the constant term.
*Significant at .05 level.
**Significant at .01 level.

Table 6-23

Reasons Dropouts Gave for Withdrawing from CEP

Reasons	%	
Job related	39	
Needed a job, money		15
Got a job on own		9
CEP failed to provide a job		9
Did not like job referred to		6
CEP related	22	
Waste of time		5
Not interested		5
Dropped by CEP		4
Problems with staff		4
Was not learning		2
Had a fight		1
Personal problems	15	
Unspecified		4
Went to jail		4
No transportation		2
Family problem		2
No babysitter		1
Was to be drafted		1
Not ascertained	25	
Total	101	
Number	93	

Surprisingly, even though they withdrew, about 40 percent still felt CEP had helped them in some way. They noted that they felt "better informed" or that they had "learned things"; some mentioned the physical examinations and health care, and others said the program had improved their "job relationships." This last reference probably refers to the job familiarity phase of the orientation program.

The dropouts were asked if any specific changes in CEP would encourage them to return. Their suggestions are summarized in Table 6-24. Just as in their reasons for withdrawal, the major inducements to return concerned jobs. A majority of the respondents, however, failed to offer any suggestions. Since this was an open-ended question it was hard to distinguish the "not ascertained" from the "no suggestions." Thus, the two categories are combined in the table.

Table 6-24

Changes in CEP That Would Encourage Dropouts to Return

Changes	%
Job related	25
More jobs	13
Better jobs	8
Quicker placement	4
CEP related	21
Better program	10
Higher training allowance	8
Better staff	2
Lower age	1
Wants to return	8
Would never return	1
No suggestions, not ascertained	54
Total[a]	109
Number	93

[a] Exceeds 100 percent because some respondents made more than one suggestion

OVERALL EVALUATIONS OF THE PROGRAM

The reactions of participants to the aspects of CEP discussed above indicate generally positive feelings toward the program, in terms of intake, processing, orientation, and supportive services. Several overall evaluative questions were asked of completers and dropouts during the post-program interviews (shortly after participation in CEP) and the follow-up interviews (six or more months after CEP). Because of the general nature of these questions, they do not help to clarify the differential success of completers and dropouts. However, they do indicate pervasive attitudes toward the CEP experience as a whole, rather than toward specific problems.

It may be recalled that the sample of completers and dropouts for the post-program interviews partly overlapped that for the follow-up interviews. Information from both interviews was available from 166 participants, of whom 113 were completers and 53 were dropouts. The overall evaluations of CEP from this longitudinal sample indicate the degree of stability of attitudes with time.

Two general items of information were also available from the follow-up interviews only: suggested improvements in CEP, and interviewers' ratings of participants' attitudes. Co-workers' attitudes toward the program are also presented. These attitudes may be considered to reflect the opinions of workers who had no personal contact with CEP, although they had contact with at least one former participant.

Did CEP Provide What Was Hoped For?

The first question asked if participants got from CEP what they had hoped for when they entered the program. Post-program and follow-up replies to this question are shown in Table 6-25. The dropouts were more critical than the completers, but were not thoroughly disappointed by CEP. The most frequent reasons given for disappointment with CEP were job related. General dissatisfaction and criticism of CEP itself were relatively infrequent. Replies tallied as "other" at the follow-up stressed inadequate training, wasted time, and problems with CEP personnel. Almost half of the "other" responses were self-blame; these respondents noted that it was their own fault, they did not try hard enough, expected too much, etc.

The data reported in Table 6-25 are taken from different groups at post-test and follow-up. For the longitudinal sample, there was considerable agreement between post-test and follow-up responses to this question. Respondents who were satisfied with CEP right after participating in the program were likely to remain satisfied at follow-up. Respondents who were not satisfied remained so or changed to satisfied in equal proportions. These data are shown in Table 6-26. The 60 percent agreement from post-program to follow-up is equivalent to a stability correlation of .77.

Several variables from the follow-up interviews were entered in a regression model in an attempt to determine what factors contributed to the feeling that CEP provided what one hoped for. The variables and the results of the analysis are shown in Table 6-27. The answer that CEP did provide what was hoped for is significantly and positively associated with the variables of program completion, employment, most recent job being a CEP placement, and attitude toward whether things were generally getting better or worse for the respondent and his family. The relations of the first three of these variables to satisfaction with CEP are as would be expected, and need no explanation. Although causality cannot be specified, it is likely that employment and placement affected satisfaction, while dropping out of the program might equally have been a cause or effect of dissatisfaction.

Table 6-25

Respondents Who Felt They Did Not Get from CEP What They Had Hoped for, at Post-program and Follow-up Interviews

	Post-program		Follow-up	
	Completer	Dropout	Completer	Dropout
	%	%	% a	% a
Did not get what hoped for	36	61	26	56
Job related	14	26	19	50
Did not get training desired	8	6	7	11
General dissatisfaction, other	6	11	7	10
Criticism of CEP	3	5	8	6
Not ascertained	4	13	-	-
Got what hoped for	60	28	74	44
Not ascertained	4	11	--	--
Number	295	93	246	168

[a] At follow-up, individuals gave up to three responses.

Table 6-26

Satisfaction with What CEP Provided, at Post-program and Follow-up

Post-program		Follow-up		
		Yes	No	DK, NA
% Yes	53	40	11	2
% No	40	19	20	1
% DK,NA	7	4	2	1
Total	100	63	33	4
Number	166			

DK, NA = Don't know, not ascertained.

The fourth variable--response to the question "Would you say things are generally getting better or worse for you and your family?"--may need some explanation. While satisfactory experience with CEP (e.g., completion, placement) may be expected to have affected the way things were going, an individual's retrospective evaluation of CEP might have been affected by his perception of his current circumstances. Even with employment, which was closely related to attitude toward how things were going, held constant the relation of "things" to satisfaction was found.

The six variables in the equation accounted altogether for only 13 percent of the variance (corrected for degrees of freedom) in this overall evaluation of CEP. Obviously other characteristics of the respondents about which data were not available were influencing these responses. The regression does indicate, however, that feeling CEP provided what was hoped for was significantly associated with program completion, with most recent job being a CEP placement, with employment, and with perception of current circumstances.

Table 6-27

Regression Analysis of Overall Satisfaction with CEP

Variable	Mean	S.D.	Regression Coefficient	Standard Error of Coefficient
Attended orientation	.75	.43	.001	.057
Completer	.60	.49	.199**	.059
Employed	.47	.50	.102*	.055
Most recent job CEP placement	.40	.49	.127*	.058
Contacted after CEP	.38	.49	.043	.050
How things are going	2.16	.93	.058*	.029
N	352			
$\bar{R}^2$			.134	
F			10.050**	

*p < .05
**p < .01

The disappointment of respondents who were not placed and retained on jobs is understandable. Somewhat more difficult to interpret were the positive responses of individuals who either were not placed by CEP or, even if they were, were not employed at the time of the interview. Fifty percent of unemployed respondents said that CEP provided what they had hoped for. An indication of possible bases of these responses is provided by comments of some respondents, who cited things such as the training allowance, health care, or orientation program as reasons for their satisfaction with CEP.

The overall attitude toward CEP as indicated by replies to this question was fairly positive, and disappointment was primarily, and understandably, in terms of CEP's failure to provide desirable jobs.

Would Participants Enter CEP Again?

A further indication of the participants' general evaluation of CEP was provided by answers to the question "Do you think you would go into CEP again if you had it to do over?" This question was asked at both post-program and follow-up interviews, although reasons for not wanting to re-enter were obtained only right after the program. As shown in Table 6-28, the dropouts were more critical than completers in the post-program interview, but at the follow-up almost everyone answered "yes" to this question. There were no differences between completers and dropouts or between employed and unemployed respondents at the follow-up interview.

An examination of some spontaneous comments elicited at follow-up indicated the nature of the reasons given for replies. Of those who replied "yes" to this question, some of the unemployed respondents commented that they would like to get into CEP again because they needed jobs; some said they would go for the money. Respondents who were employed commented, for example, that they felt CEP was helpful, that they enjoyed the program, and that they would go to CEP if they needed jobs.

Negative answers to this question were often accompanied by remarks that CEP was a waste of time or that it had no good jobs to offer. A few individuals commented that they would not go again because they had found jobs, or knew how to go about getting one because of what they learned in CEP, or felt that they had learned all that CEP could teach them.

Replies obtained at post-program and follow-up from the longitudinal sample were quite consistent and do not appear to have been markedly changed by experiences between the two interviews. More than two-thirds of the respondents answered "yes" to this question at both interviews, but for those few who replied "no" after the program, "yes" and "no" responses were about equally likely to be given at follow-up (Table 6-29).

Table 6-28

Respondents' Attitudes toward Going into CEP Again

	Post-program		Follow-up	
	Completer	Dropout	Completer	Dropout
	%	%	% [a]	% [a]
Would not go in again	16	35	13	14
Don't do what they say they will a	8	14		
Too much wasted time	3	6		
Staff not concerned	1	2		
Staff acts superior	*	1		
Not ascertained	13	12		
Would go again	76	49	87	86
Not ascertained	8	15	—	—
Total	100	99	100	100
Number	295	93	246	168

*Less than one-half of 1 percent.

[a] Comments not obtaining during follow-up interviews.

Table 6-29

Willingness to Re-enter CEP at Post-program and Follow-up

	Post-program	Follow-up		
		Yes	No	DK,NA
% Yes	76	67	7	2
% No	13	7	6	0
% DK, NA	11	10	1	1
Total	100	84	14	3
Number	166			

Suggested Improvements

Despite the generally positive appraisal of CEP indicated thus far, most of the participants did see a need for improvement in the program. Responses to the question "What improvements would you like to see made in CEP?" are given in Table 6-30. Fewer than one-fourth of the respondents had no suggestions as to improvements, but no single improvement was seen as especially necessary. Although "higher-paying jobs" and "more kinds of training" were suggested more often than any others, each was mentioned by only about one-fourth of the respondents. The needs for more interesting jobs, better quality training, and improved operations were cited somewhat less frequently. Responses categorized as "other" in Table 6-30 stressed two particular areas. These were concerned with the qualities and abilities of counselors and teachers, and with the necessity to be more strict with participants who did not really want to work or who created disturbances in classrooms. Other responses included suggestions to improve the pay and to make services available to more people. Apparently, the program did not have any major operational flaws that the participants considered especially serious.

Table 6-30

Improvement Completers and Dropouts Would Like to See Made in CEP

Improvements	Completers	Dropouts
	%	%
Higher-paying jobs	22	26
More interesting jobs	21	25
More kinds of training	23	19
Better quality training	14	10
Improve operations	17	19
Other	13	16
No suggestions	23	21
Number	243	167

*Percentage of respondents. Total exceeds 100 percent to extent respondents gave more than one answer.

Although they had somewhat different experiences with the program, completers and dropouts varied little in their responses to this question. The considerable similarity of responses of completers and dropouts might indicate that the program was judged relatively objectively and particular negativism was not created by withdrawing from the program or unemployment.

Interviewer Ratings

Replies to the questions designed to elicit evaluations of CEP indicate fairly positive attitudes. Even those who said they did not get what they had hoped for from CEP were primarily, and quite reasonably, disappointed because they did not get jobs. Additional information concerning retrospective evaluations of CEP is provided by interviewer ratings of attitudes toward CEP which were made at the follow-up interview. These ratings are at least partially based on direct replies to the questions that have been discussed. However, it is likely that they also reflect unrecorded comments of participants and general impressions conveyed during the interviews. Attitudes were rated from "very much in favor of CEP" (1) to "not at all in favor of CEP" (4).

The data from these ratings are fairly consistent with those obtained as direct replies from the participants. Attitudes of completers were rated as more favorable toward CEP than were those of dropouts, with an average rating of 1.9 for the former and 2.3 for the latter. The difference is primarily due to dropouts less often being rated as "very much in favor" (1) and more often as "a little in favor of CEP" (3). Frequencies of ratings "mostly in favor" and "not at all in favor" do not differ much for completers and dropouts. An examination of interviewers' ratings as a function of employment status at the time of the interview indicates that the most positive attitudes were held by respondents who were currently employed in CEP-obtained jobs. As shown in Table 6-31, the average ratings for the three groups of unemployed respondents, and for those employed in non-CEP-obtained jobs, were all relatively similar and lower than those of respondents employed in CEP-obtained jobs.

Few individuals were rated "not at all in favor of CEP" (10%), reflecting the general willingness to return to CEP expressed by the respondents. Although half of the unemployed subjects said CEP did not provide what they had hoped for, very few were rated as having negative attitudes toward the program. This would tend to confirm the opinion expressed earlier, that these participants were not unhappy with the CEP experience itself, but were disappointed because they did not get good jobs.

It seems appropriate to consider the accuracy of the replies given by participants. The generally positive attitudes toward CEP expressed even by the dropouts are rather surprising in view of the fact that most of these participants voluntarily left the program. There is little reason to assume the respondents deliberately distorted their answers, because they were assured that their replies would not be shown to CEP personnel. Additionally, the occasion of the interview could be seen as an ideal opportunity to complain about problems, real or imagined, that they felt they had had with CEP. For these reasons, the replies obtained in these interviews should fairly well represent the actual feelings of the participants, at least at the time they were given. In general, the opinions of the participants may be summarized as generally in favor of CEP, with most dissatisfaction caused by a lack of jobs.

Table 6-31

Interviewers' Ratings of Attitudes toward CEP for Participants Classified by Employment Status and for Co-workers

	CEP Participants					Co-workers
	Employed		Unemployed			
	CEP Placed	non-CEP placed	CEP Placed	non-CEP placed	No Jobs	
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very much in favor (1)	49	33	33	22	32	19
Mostly in favor (2)	32	33	30	26	28	19
A little in favor (3)	14	18	21	28	30	27
Not at all in favor (4)	3	14	13	9	10	14
Did not mention*	2	2	3	5	0	22
NUMBER	88	105	69	88	53	139
Mean Rating	1.71	2.15	2.17	2.29	2.21	2.46

*Not included in calculation of mean ratings.

Co-workers' Attitudes toward CEP

An indication of community attitudes toward CEP is provided by the co-workers' discussion of the program. Perhaps community is too broad a term. A more precise description would be members of the community who had no direct contact with CEP but who held jobs similar to those of CEP participants. On the whole, co-workers expressed favorable attitudes, although they had some reservations and were not as "positive" as the participants. The 80 percent of the co-workers who reported that they had heard of the manpower program run by the Columbus Metropolitan Area Community Action Organization were asked how people felt about it. The distribution of responses to this question is given in Table 6-32.

Table 6-32

Co-workers' Responses of How People Felt about the CEP in General

Response	%*
Negative, poor program	4
Good idea, but poorly run	19
Has poor jobs to offer	6
Neutral, alright, OK	19
Positive, good program	43
Other	18
Number responding	115

*Percentage of respondents who had heard of CEP. Total exceeds 100 as twelve respondents gave two responses.

Half of the responses classified as "other" refer to the respondents' not having talked to anyone about the program. The rest were primarily general, nonevaluative comments.

The percentage of co-workers who expressed positive opinions of the program was about the same as the percentage of ex antes who said that people's general feelings about CEP were good (41%). Differences in the coding of responses preclude further comparison, but this similarity suggests considerable agreement among two groups of respondents with little or no participation in CEP.

Of the co-workers who had heard of CEP, 63 percent said they would go there if they needed jobs. The reasons given by those who would not go,

Table 6-33

Would Co-workers Go to CEP for a Job, and If Not, Why?

	%
Would go to CEP if needed a job	63
Would not go	37
Why not:	
Currently employed	3
Can find job on own	8
Negative feelings about CEP	6
CEP offers menial jobs with low pay	6
Personal reasons	3
Other	8
Number responding	117

coded in six categories, are given in Table 6-33. The majority of the respondents did not express negative feelings about CEP or the jobs that were available, and most of those who said they would not go to CEP for jobs stressed their abilities to find employment on their own.

Interviewers rated co-workers' attitudes toward CEP as they had for participants. These ratings, shown in Table 6-31, indicate more negative attitudes among co-workers than for any other group. As would be expected, a greater percentage of the co-workers than of any other group did not mention CEP. The interviewer ratings apparently reflect the respondents' opinions about the program: as noted above, about 40 percent felt that it was a good program; the rest noted some reservations or expressed neutrality.

The somewhat less favorable opinions about CEP expressed by co-workers may be attributed to several factors. Most of the co-workers probably had scant knowledge of CEP, and so had little reason to be enthusiastic about it. Acquaintance with participants who had dropped out of the program or who were unsuccessful at their jobs (i.e., quit or were fired) probably produced or contributed to some unfavorable opinions held by co-workers. Additionally, some co-workers who felt that they could find jobs on their own seemed to imply criticism of those who need employment programs. A view of CEP as being for people who are too "stupid" to find their own jobs would not foster a favorable attitude toward the program.

Overall, the co-workers did not appear to be strongly negative or positive toward CEP. Their lack of positive enthusiasm may be due to the fact that they were unfamiliar with, and thus indifferent to, the program. If acceptance and support by the community is important for the success of a program such as CEP, greater dissemination of information beyond the target population may be necessary.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter examined the experiences with and evaluations of CEP reported by ex antes, dropouts, and completers. These have been considered in terms of an assumption of CEP, that existing institutions were inadequate for the needs of the hard-core unemployed. The degree to which CEP was able to overcome the supposed alienation of the target population and to coordinate necessary services was expected to contribute to differential success of individuals in the program.

It was found that overall perceptions of the CEP itself were quite favorable. Ex antes, dropouts, and completers did not appear to differ in terms of what they had expected from CEP, or in their assessment of intake and processing procedures. Dropouts tended to be slightly more critical than completers of orientation and training programs, but generally were not as dissatisfied as might have been expected. Most respondents were not annoyed by the procedures of the program or by the personnel, so it may be assumed that CEP did not alienate its participants.

Only dropouts and completers received supportive services from CEP, and it is on reactions to these that more differences between the groups were found. Dropouts were less likely to feel that their coaches were helpful, less likely to feel that they could get along on their training allowances, and apparently received less help from the supportive services than completers. However, the specific degree to which these problems caused the dropouts to leave the program cannot be ascertained. Supportive services such as health care, day care, and legal aid were reported as needed or received by only a small percentage of the participants, both completers and dropouts.

The results reported in this chapter have a major implication for the design and funding of future programs such as CEP; e.g., in general, alienation, rejection, and the need for a variety of services do not appear to be very important for this population. These participants were interested primarily in jobs, and left or did not participate in CEP because they felt that it had no employment for them. In retrospective evaluations, participants expressed dissatisfaction with CEP because they did not get jobs, or because the kinds of jobs they wanted were not available.

There is no way to know whether ex antes or dropouts would have been "successful" in the program if they had been provided good jobs without delay. Even if such jobs had been provided there is some question as to whether they would then have remained on them. The participants' own evaluations seem to say that CEP was generally a nice place, but that it did not provide what some of them claimed they had wanted.

Chapter 7

THE JOB CLIMATE OF PARTICIPANTS

The job climate experienced by a worker is usually defined by how his personal needs and values cause him to perceive the various aspects of his job situation, such as the work itself, wage level, supervision, chance for advancement, and interaction with co-workers (Likert, 1961). The intent of this chapter is to assess the former Concentrated Employment Program participants' perceptions of the job climate at follow-up, in comparison to the perceptions of their co-workers and supervisors. It will also analyze the influences of post-CEP employment experiences and the effects of CEP placement as they influenced those perceptions.

In order to examine job perceptions, two instruments were administered at the time of follow-up. The participants were instructed to refer only to their current (or most recent) jobs because it was felt that limiting the assessment to these jobs would lend immediacy and specificity to the responses and would allow a scrutiny of the long-term effects of CEP in enhancing job adjustment.

The chapter is divided into four sections. The first reports participant, co-worker, and supervisor views of the most recent job, pointing out convergence and divergence in the perspectives of the three groups regarding job climate. The first section also describes the differences in supervisor appraisal between participants and their co-workers who had not been affiliated with CEP. The main finding of this section, however, is that the CEP participants differed from their co-workers less than might have been anticipated. This finding is further substantiated by a comparison between responses to the job rating questionnaire and to the Job Descriptive Index (JDI) (Smith et al., 1969), a measure of job satisfaction. This comparison indicated a good deal of convergence between the measures, validating conclusions about the job climate based upon responses to the two instruments.

The second section compares responses to the job rating questionnaire and to the JDI based upon the status of the participants at the time of follow-up. The participants are grouped by their employment status (employed or unemployed when interviewed) and by the status of their most recent jobs (whether they had been CEP placements or had been obtained through other channels). The comparisons indicate that employed participants rated their most recent jobs uniformly higher than the unemployed groups on a number of variables (most notably on the quality of supervision), and that the employed group expressed much greater satisfaction with their jobs. Relatively little difference was found between CEP-placed and nonplaced groups on their ratings of job characteristics and job satisfaction.

The third section describes the factor analyses of the measures of most recent jobs. It indicates the factors on which the participants and their co-workers responded similarly and on which they differed. The differences in their perceptions of supervision and the payoff from their own efforts are discussed as having implications for job retention. Factor scores derived from these analyses, together with other data on the participants and the jobs they obtained, were combined in multiple regression analyses. These are discussed in Chapter 8, which deals with the total employment experiences of the participants.

The fourth and final section summarizes the findings of the first three, highlighting factors which contributed to satisfactory work adjustment during the months after the participants left the CEP program.

MOST RECENT JOB FROM SEVERAL PERSPECTIVES

This section focuses primarily on examining the ratings of the jobs most recently held by CEP participants. In each case, the participant was asked to name his supervisor and one co-worker. Every respondent rated job features and evaluated performance at work on a set of twenty-one rating scales designed to allow for comparability across groups. (The complete rating scales are reproduced in Appendix C. They were constructed after an examination of all pertinent job attitude studies discussed in the volumes of the Annual Review of Psychology for the years 1965 to 1969.)

These twenty-one scales were selected from the full set of twenty-eight job rating scales administered at follow-up.[1] A respondent answered by putting a checkmark along a rating scale ranging from one (usually the least favorable response) to nine (usually the most favorable). To control for a response set of always checking one end of the scale, the order of favorability was reversed for five of the items, with one representing the most favorable and nine the least. For data analyses and this presentation, all of the items, including those which were reversed, were scored so that nine was the most favorable response. For example, item 2 reads, "How hard is the physical work on this job?" The rating scale used for answering was anchored with "very easy" over the low end and "very hard" over the high end. In scoring the answers, however, the responses were reversed so that a high score indicated the physical work was very easy; a low score meant it was very hard.

A matched sample of eighty-three participant-co-worker-supervisor triads was obtained. In each triad the CEP participant, his co-worker, and his supervisor independently rated the nonpersonal conditions of the job, such as difficulty of the physical work required. The participants and co-workers rated their own efforts, performances, and relationships with their supervisors and the supervisors rated the participants and co-workers independently on these same dimensions.

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[1] The seven items not included in this analysis are of personal reference (such as "How proud are you of this job?") which were not asked of the supervisors.

Comparison of the Most Objective Job Features Ratings. Table 7-1 presents a multitrait-multirater matrix of the eight most objective job features included in the ratings (Campbell and Fiske, 1959). The solid triangles contain the intercorrelations within groups of the eight ratings; the broken-line triangles show the correlations between groups on different ratings. The correlations in the diagonals between the broken-line triangles can be considered validity coefficients, for they indicate the degree to which matched pairs of raters agreed in their ratings. Examination of the table clearly indicates that there was little agreement across groups. The diagonal of participant-co-worker correlations was slightly higher than those which indicated agreement with supervisors. The slightly higher correlations between participants and co-workers suggests they shared some common "worker perspective" which was not shared by their supervisors. These intergroup figures, however, were minor in comparison to the correlations within groups. The within-group figures suggest that the respondents held general impressions about the jobs that tended to be reflected in the separate ratings. In each of the three groups, for example, company treatment of workers is most strongly correlated with other job factors.

The lack of agreement among groups was not reflected as much in the comparison of item means as it was in the correlational analysis. Table 7-2 indicates the means that differed significantly among the groups. All three groups yielded mean ratings on physical requirements, things learned, control over speed of work, and friendliness of other workers that did not differ significantly. With regard to how well a company treated its workers and how sure a worker could be that he would keep his job, however, the supervisors were more favorable than the CEP participants and their co-workers. Surprisingly, the participants were more positive about company treatment than their co-workers and more positive about the attractiveness of working conditions than their supervisors.

All the mean ratings of the most objective job features were above the defined midpoint of 5.00. These comparisons indicate that the former participants did not have unrealistic expectations as to the quality of jobs that CEP could provide. Although there was low individual agreement between CEP placements and the co-workers who had obtained their jobs through traditional channels, on the average most of their ratings did not differ significantly.

Comparisons of Effort, Performance, and Relationship with Supervisor. In addition to the eight objective items on which comparisons could be made across all three groups, separate comparisons could be made between participants-supervisors and co-workers-supervisors for thirteen more items related to effort, performance, and supervisor-worker relationships. These items referred to evaluations of individuals rather than ratings of the job or company in general. For example, the participants and their co-workers were asked, "In general, how well do you feel you do your job?" Their supervisors were asked, "In general, how well do you feel this worker does his (her) job?" The questionnaire sent to the supervisors named the workers to be rated. Thus it is meaningful to compare the workers' ratings with those of their supervisors, for both referred to the same workers. It is not, however, meaningful to compare the participants and co-workers, for they rated themselves and not each other.

Table 7-1

Inter-rater Matrix of Eight Most Objective Job Features among Supervisor, Participant, and Co-worker Groups[a]

Variable		Supervisor								Participant								Co-worker							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Supervisor	1. Hard physical work?																								
	2. Useful things learned?																								
	3. How nice conditions?																								
	4. Control of work speed?																								
	5. How well company treats?				27																				
	6. Helpful other workers?				29	30																			
	7. Friendly other workers?		31			51	39																		
	8. How sure keep job?				31	46		34																	
Participant	1. Hard physical work?	14																							
	2. Useful things learned?		07																						
	3. How nice conditions?			21							33														
	4. Control of work speed?				01						28	28													
	5. How well company treats?					16				25	26		48												
	6. Helpful other workers?						18						26	63											
	7. Friendly other workers?							-07					34	58	59										
	8. How sure keep job?								-02		42			31	32	48									
Co-Worker	1. Hard physical work?	19		25						31															
	2. Useful things learned?		-03								21			30	39										
	3. How nice conditions?			19								26													
	4. Control of work speed?				-06					25			18		25	25									
	5. How well company treats?					10					29			12					40	34					
	6. Helpful other workers?						-01								00						43	49			
	7. Friendly other workers?							02								12				27		41	52		
	8. How sure keep job?								-03								08		35		32	52	38	36	

N = 83 for each group
Decimal points omitted

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[a] Correlations <.25 were eliminated from this table except in diagonals which report intergroup validities.

Table 7-2

Significant Mean Differences in Eight Most Objective Job Feature Ratings among CEP Participants, Their Co-workers, and Their Supervisors[a]
(N = 83 in Each Group)

Variable	Participant/Co-worker	Participant/Supervisor	Co-worker/Supervisor
1. Hard physical work?			
2. Useful things learned?			
3. How nice conditions?		Part. (6.32) > Sup. (5.41)	
4. Control of work speed?			
5. How well company treats?	Part. (6.78) > Co. (6.09)[b]	Sup. (7.33) > Part. (6.78)	Sup. (7.33) > Co. (6.09)
6. Helpful other workers?			Sup. (6.95) > Co. (6.15)
7. Friendly other workers?			
8. Sure keep job?		Sup. (7.08) > Part. (5.58)	Sup. (7.08) > Co. (5.46)

[a] The t-values for those comparisons listed were of a probability of .05 or less.

[b] To be read: The participant mean (6.78) is significantly higher than the co-worker mean (6.09).

The correlational comparisons of participants with supervisors are presented in Table 7-3 and the correlations of co-workers with supervisors in Table 7-4. The format of these tables is similar to Table 7-1. That is, the solid triangles contain the within-group comparisons and the diagonals between the broken-line triangles contain the validity coefficients. The pattern of these correlations is also the same as in 7-1 in that there is much more agreement within groups on different items than there is between groups on the same items. Even though there was low agreement between the supervisors and both groups of workers, it is of interest that the participants were, on the average, slightly more in agreement with their supervisors (mean r = .18) than were the co-workers (mean r = .13). None of the validity coefficients, however, suggests any significant degree of shared perspective in the ratings of the separate groups.

Another interesting pattern in Tables 7-3 and 7-4 is the degree to which the supervisors' ratings intercorrelate. For both participants and co-workers the only rating without a significant correlation with any of the other items was the one on pay. All of the other items, especially those related to a worker's performance, correlated highly with most of the other ratings. The supervisors' perceptions of how well individual workers did their jobs--especially how hard they tried--was associated with virtually all other perceptions of the worker. This pattern of association was even more pronounced for the participants than for the co-workers, which suggests that if a CEP participant was seen by his supervisor as honestly trying to do a good job the supervisor would generally be quite positive about all aspects of his relationship with the worker. This overall halo effect was not as pronounced for the workers--both participants and co-workers--whose ratings of their own performances tended to be independent of their ratings of their relationships with their supervisors.

The intercomparisons of the mean ratings for the three groups are presented in Table 7-5. (Only those means that differed significantly are included.) Comparisons of the supervisors' ratings of participants and their co-workers show that the supervisors were usually more positive toward the latter. The co-workers and participants both rated their performances and efforts higher than their supervisors did, and the participants rated their own performances lower than the co-workers rated theirs.

Perhaps the most significant finding from all these comparisons is the reasonability of the former CEP participants' ratings. For a group of workers with relatively little previous job experience, their ratings are similar to those of their supervisors. They tended to see their own efforts and performances a little more favorably than their supervisors did, but this was also true of the co-workers. Because the co-workers had generally been on the jobs longer, it is also reasonable that their supervisors tended to see them more favorably than they did the former CEP participants. It may also be true that the co-workers actually were better and harder workers who had better relationships with their supervisors. Supervisor ratings certainly indicate that they were seen in this light.

Table 7-3

Intercorrelation, Supervisor and Participant, of Effort, Performance, and Relationship Variables[a]

	Variables	Supervisor													Participant												
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Supervisor	1. Try to do best work?																										
	2. How well do job?	86																									
	3. Ever stay late?	53	53																								
	4. How rate in comparison?	76	85	53																							
	5. How well paid?																										
	6. Chance for better job?	53	56		60																						
	7. Get along with worker?	58																									
	8. Supervisor pushes?	50	58		63		45	27																			
	9. Supervisor watches work?	60	64	33	72		54	41	82																		
	10. Understand instructions?	42	43		40		40	41																			
	11. Supervisor compliments?		29		25			41			28																
	12. Supervisor criticizes?	43	47		50		44	42	64	61																	
	13. How Well like worker?	64	57	47	55		41	62	33	43	52		46														
Participant	1. Try to do best work?	21	26		34				32																		
	2. How well do job?		32		27		27								30												
	3. Ever stay late?			38																							
	4. How rate in comparison?				15										30	55											
	5. How well paid?					-17		27		31						25		27									
	6. Chances for better job?						20								25	30			33								
	7. Get along with supervisor?		28				29	26				31				30			28	33							
	8. Supervisor pushes?								24							25				29	33						
	9. Supervisor watches work?									17		25									27	44					
	10. Understand instructions?										19					25					76						
	11. Supervisor compliments?											17							25	30	74			65			
	12. Supervisor criticizes?						34						09								47	33		43	40		
	13. How well like supervisor?													08						26	78			73	69	50	

N = 83 each group
Decimal points omitted

[a] Correlations < .25 were elimated from this table except in the diagonals which reports intergroup validity.

Table 7-4

Intercorrelation, Supervisors and Co-workers, of Effort Performance and Relationship Variables[a]

Variables	Supervisor 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Co-worker 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Try to do best work?																										
2. How well do job?	71																									
3. Ever stay late?	48	61																								
4. How rate in comparison?	60	70	55																							
5. How well paid?																										
6. Chances for better job?	38	36	26	38																						
7. Get along with worker?	36		28			28																				
8. Supervisor pushes?	46	48		45																						
9. Supervisor watches work?	50	50	32	48		28		64																		
10. Understand instructions?						33	36																			
11. Supervisor compliments?			37			31	55			38																
12. Supervisor criticizes?		36						44	41																	
13. How well like worker?	39		34	26			61			40	46															
1. Try to do best work?	05																									
2. How well do job?		07												54												
3. Ever stay late?			18				31																			
4. How rate in comparison?				-07										30	39											
5. How well paid?					22	33									28											
6. Chances for better job?						21					-28					42		33								
7. Get along with supervisor?							05							31			27		38							
8. Supervisor pushes?								13	32	26										35						
9. Supervisor watches work?									28	26											33					
10. Understand instructions?										13				25				36	28	50	32					
11. Supervisor compliments?											13								27	47			58			
12. Supervisor criticizes?												12	33							34	56	33	29			
13. How well like supervisor?													17						42	72	30		54	48	34	

N = 83 each group
Decimal points omitted

[a] Correlations < .25 were eliminated from this table except in the diagonal which reports intergroup validity.

Table 7-5

Significant Mean Differences in Effort, Performance, and Relationship Ratings between CEP Participants, Their Co-workers, and Their Supervisors[a]
(N = in 83 Each Group)

Variable	Participant/Co-worker	Participant/Supervisor	Co-worker/Supervisor	Supervisor Ratings of Participant/Co-worker
1. Try to do best work?		Part. (7.81) > Sup. (5.50)	Co. (7.98) > Sup. (6.79)	Co. (6.79) > Part. (5.50)
2. How well does job?	Co. (8.03) > Part. (7.05)[b]	Part. (7.05) > Sup. (5.02)	Co. (8.03) > Sup. (6.75)	Co. (6.75) > Part. (5.02)
3. Ever stay late?	Co. (4.52) > Part. (2.96)	Part. (2.96) > Sup. (2.02)		Co. (3.88) > Part. (2.02)
4. How well rated?	Co. (6.94) > Part. (6.37)	Part. (6.37) > Sup. (4.67)	Co. (6.94) > Sup. (6.20)	Co. (6.20) > Part. (4.67)
5. How well paid?				
6. Chance for better job?			Sup. (6.14) > Co. (4.90)	Co. (6.14) > Part. (4.61)
7. Get along with?				
8. Supervisor pushes?	Co. (6.74) > Part. (5.78)		Co. (6.74) > Sup. (5.88)	Co. (5.88) > Part. (5.17)
9. Supervisor watches work?		Part. (5.47) > Sup. (5.26)	Sup. (6.15) > Co. (5.21)	Co. (6.15) > Part. (5.26)
10. Understand instructions?				Co. (6.70) > Part. (5.73)
11. Supervisor compliments?	Part. (6.37) > Co. (5.27)		Sup. (6.01) > Co. (5.27)	
12. Supervisor criticizes?	Co. (6.98) > Part. (5.81)		Co. (6.98) > Sup. (5.90)	
13. How well like?				Co. (6.99) > Part. (6.32)

[a] The t-values for those comparisons listed were of a probability of .05 or less.

[b] To be read: The co-worker mean (8.03) is significantly higher than the participant mean (7.05).

Employer Representatives and Other Groups

One other set of intergroup comparisons was possible from the data gathered in the study. In the course of interviews conducted with eighty-one representatives of employers who hired CEP referrals, these representatives were asked to rate nine features of working for their companies on scales similar to those used with supervisors, former CEP participants, and co-workers. On three of the scales (pay, pride, and job security) the employer respondents gave overall company ratings; for the others they separately rated each job for which CEP referrals were usually hired. Averages were calculated for each company. The ratings obtained from the other three groups were sorted by companies, and company averages were calculated for all the respondents in each group. If a company had only one former CEP participant, this participant was matched directly with the employer representative. For a large company which hired many CEP referrals, the company average might be based on twenty to thirty respondents in each group. The ratings of each company representative were matched with the averages for the other groups in the same company and correlations were calculated for all the matched pairs. The means and correlations for the employers matched separately with the averages for supervisors, former participants, and co-workers are presented in Table 7-6.

As might be expected, the most agreement was between employers and supervisors, next between employers and co-workers, and least between employers and participants. The correlations suggest some agreement on the more objective aspects of the job--demands of the physical work and quality of working conditions, and usefulness of things learned--but less on the rating which required more value-laden judgments. Both the participants and co-workers were more skeptical than the employers about job security and chances for advancement. Supervisors also rated the advancement opportunities open to CEP referrals lower than the employers did.

The employer representatives generally saw their companies as offering average or better jobs, pay, security, and working conditions. These ratings were generally reflected by the other respondent groups, but on several variables these other groups were significantly less positive than the employers.

Job Ratings and Job Descriptive Index

One final intercomparison of the measures of job climate concerns the agreement between responses to the job rating questionnaire and to the JDI. The latter, a carefully developed and tested measure of job satisfaction, is divided into five areas: work, pay supervision, promotion, and people (defined to the respondents as co-workers). Under each of these headings is a list of adjectives which might be used in describing that area of the job. The respondents were asked to decide whether an individual adjective could be applied in describing one of the five aspects of his most recent job.

Table 7-6

Employer Representative Ratings of Company Conditions Compared to Those of Supervisors, Former CEP Participants, and Co-workers

Ratings	Employer Mean	Supervisor Mean	(N = 25) r	Employer Mean	Participant Mean	(N = 48) r	Employer Mean	Co-worker Mean	(N = 31) r
How well paid	5.88	5.68	.32	5.94	5.08**	-.02	5.81	5.26	.32
How proud of company		NA[a]		6.46	6.52	.12	6.52	6.23	.32
How sure keep job	7.48	7.16	.12	7.75	5.71**	.07	7.55	5.48**	.47
Physical work	6.05	5.72	.60	5.62	4.92	.30	5.98	5.26	.19
Working conditions	5.72	4.76	.24	5.41	5.67	.40	5.72	5.64	.37
Control speed or pace	5.12	6.16	.14	5.23	7.02**	-.23	5.29	6.42	.02
Things learned useful	5.60	5.48	.26	5.62	5.12	.23	5.77	5.77	.20
Chances of better job	5.74	4.56*	.13	6.51	4.96**	-.03	6.00	4.42**	.19
Average CEP referral performs	4.58	5.28	.30	4.68	7.45**	-.07		NA[a]	

[a] NA = Not asked.

*Difference significant p < .05.

**Difference significant p < .01.

recording a "Y" (yes) if it did or an "N" (no) if it did not. If the respondent could not decide, he was permitted to enter a question mark ("?"). For each adjective favorable to the given area the respondent endorsed, a score of three was assigned. Three points were also scored for each unfavorable adjective which the respondent claimed did not apply to his job. Question marks were scored one because it has been found these are more indicative of dissatisfaction. The assigned scores were summed separately for each area to yield five scores for each respondent.

The five individual rating scales that were judged to be most similar to each of the five JDI areas were intercorrelated with the scores; the correlations are presented in Table 7-7. Although this table is similar in format to Tables 7-1, 7-3, and 7-4, there is one basic difference. The others presented the same ratings obtained from matched groups of respondents, and the correlations reflected the degree to which different groups of respondents gave similar ratings on the same items. The measures were the same but the groups were different. Table 7-7 does not present intergroup comparisons, but comparisons within groups across two different types of measures. The correlations in the diagonal between the two triangles enclosed in broken lines are the validity coefficients, which indicate the amount of agreement between two different measures of the same area. For example, the first correlation in the validity diagonal for participants is $\underline{r} = .59$. This indicates the degree of agreement between the ratings to the item "How well do you like to do the kinds of things you do on this job?" and the JDI scores on the scale for work. This correlation is thirteen points higher than any other correlation of this item or scale with any other rating or score in the table. The degree to which the correlations in the diagonal exceed the other correlations in their respective rows and columns is an indication of how accurately the separate methods are actually measuring the content areas they are intended to measure. In Table 7-7 there are twelve comparisons of each validity coefficient with the other correlations in their rows and columns. There are five validity coefficients for both the participants and co-workers, ten in all. Ten coefficients times twelve possible comparisons yields 120 total comparisons. In only three of these comparisons are there correlations higher than those in the validity diagonal. All three of these involve the JDI co-worker score.

On the whole, then, it is clear that the separate measures were relatively accurate. Although it is frequently alleged that people from poverty backgrounds do not respond honestly in interviews, the present data do not support this contention. Where analyses could be made, the data appear to be much more consistent than inconsistent. In general, these results indicate that the mean job climate measures of the participants are very similar to those of other respondents and internally consistent themselves. While there is considerable variability in the individual ratings, their accuracy seems certain, and the averages derived from them are quite similar across groups.

EFFECT OF EMPLOYMENT AND CEP PLACEMENT ON JOB EVALUATION

In this section responses to the job rating questionnaire and the JDI are examined with respect to two basic definitions of job status at follow-up.

Table 7-7

Intercorrelation of Job Ratings and Job Descriptive Index Scores for Participants and Co-workers

		1	19	21	16	18	Wk	Py	Sp	Pr	Co
Participants											
Ratings	1[a] Like to do things										
	19 Satisfied with pay	40									
	21 How get along supervisor	46	29				N = 306				
	16 Chances for better job	46	29	39							
	18 Friendly other workers	44	31	49	33						
JDI	Work (Wk)	59	41	44	45	30					
	Pay (Py)	20	63	13	18	16	32				
	Supervision (Sp)	38	36	64	35	40	55	31			
	Promotion (Pr)	31	37	29	52	17	47	42	44		
	Co-workers (Co)	40	36	48	37	51	58	30	59	48	
Co-workers											
Ratings	1 Like to do things										
	19 Satisfied with pay	45									
	21 How get along supervisor	55	30				N = 131				
	16 Chances for better job	39	33	32							
	18 Friendly other workers	26	36	25	11						
JDI	Work (Wk)	70	51	38	41	32					
	Pay (Py)	39	74	27	39	24	49				
	Supervision (Sp)	40	30	56	34	19	41	32			
	Promotion (Pr)	38	40	34	63	13	48	50	48		
	Co-workers (Co)	34	31	32	24	45	50	34	42	42	

[a] Refers to item number on job rating questionnaire.

Decimal points omitted.

Respondent groups are defined, first, by whether or not the participants were actually employed at the time of follow-up, and, secondly, regardless of employment status, whether the most recent job had been a placement provided through the services of CEP.

It will be shown that being employed was generally related to positive evaluations of the current job climate and that unemployment was associated with less positive job ratings and less expressed satisfaction with the most recent position held. Such clear relationships were not found between groups defined by the placement status of the most recent job, although the CEP placement jobs seem to have been more satisfactory to the respondents than positions found through other channels. These differences are more specifically explained in the following two sections, the first comparing the participants on their responses to the job rating questionnaire, and the second comparing them on satisfaction expressed through the JDI.

Job Ratings by Job Status

Table 7-8 lists abbreviations of the twenty-eight job rating questions which the participants were asked at follow-up. (An explanation of the job rating questionnaire was presented earlier in this chapter.) For each item, the mean rating of the unemployed group was compared to that of the employed and the mean rating of those most recently on jobs obtained through CEP referral (placed) was compared to that of those respondents whose jobs had been obtained through other means. Where the t-value for the difference attained statistical significance ($p < .05$), indicating a substantial difference between the ratings of the two groups, the difference and the level of probability are shown by asterisks.

The job rating questions were divided into three groups: (1) questions 1 through 12 (The Job), which required the participants to evaluate working conditions and individual performance; (2) questions 13-20, dealing with important auxiliary characteristics of the job (Company, Pay, Co-workers); and (3) the final eight questions (Supervision), which were designed to afford participants a chance to assess the relationships they had enjoyed with their immediate supervisors on the most recent job.

The Job. As might be expected, the employed participants rated their current jobs and personal performance more favorably than the unemployed participants. Employed participant means were higher than those of the unemployed on eleven of the twelve questions. Only once, however, did the difference reach statistical significance. In this case, the employed group reported having significantly more control over the speed or pace of their work efforts than had the unemployed group.

Participants who had been placed through the CEP differed very little from the others in their job ratings. The placed group rated their jobs and performance slightly better on five of the twelve questions; the others rated more favorably on six questions and there was one tied rating.

Table 7-8

Mean Job Ratings of Former Participants by Employed and Unemployed and by CEP-Placed and Nonplaced

Variable	Employed	Unemployed	Placed	Nonplaced
The Job				
1. Like to do things?	6.17	5.70	6.10	5.88
2. Hard physical work?	5.48	5.30	5.34	5.45
3. Useful things learned?	4.94	4.61	5.01	4.64
4. Try to do best work?	7.61	7.14	7.26	7.53
5. Proud of job?	5.94	5.42	5.91	5.57
6. How well do job?	7.31	6.79	7.09	7.09
7. Ever stay late?	3.21	3.39	2.78	3.68**
8. How nice conditions?	5.74	5.43	5.58	5.64
9. Control of work speed?	7.07	6.25**	6.67	6.77
10. Job fits skills and abilities?	5.63	5.26	5.50	5.46
11. Think of job when away?	4.82	4.42	4.58	4.71
12. How rate yourself?	6.29	5.90	6.19	6.08
Company, Pay, Co-workers				
13. How well company treats?	6.44	5.61**	5.81	6.31
14. Helpful other workers?	6.62	6.11	6.54	6.30
15. How well paid?	5.31	4.89	5.17	5.10
16. Chance for better job?	5.22	3.74**	4.58	4.61
17. Proud of company?	5.84	5.29	5.74	5.50
18. Friendly other workers?	7.17	6.52*	6.90	6.90
19. Satisfied with pay?	5.17	4.53*	5.30	4.59*
20. Sure to keep job?	5.59	4.46**	5.17	5.07
Supervision				
21. Get along with supervisor?	6.53	5.77*	6.13	6.27
22. Supervisor pushes?	6.28	5.39**	5.73	6.04
23. Supervisor watches work?	5.51	5.12	5.36	5.34
24. Supervisor explains things?	6.72	6.06*	6.32	6.54
25. How helpful supervisor?	6.68	6.12	6.33	6.54
26. Supervisor compliments?	5.94	5.17*	5.28	5.88
27. Supervisor criticizes?	5.96	4.97*	5.38	5.67
28. How well like supervisor?	6.33	5.88	5.99	6.26
Base Number	201	145	151	195

*Difference significant p < .05.
**Difference significant p < .01.

With 5.00 representing the midpoint of the response continum, it is interesting that on three-fourths of these questions the participants rated the jobs and their performance as being above average, regardless of their employment status.

Company, Pay, Co-workers. Employed participants rated their most recent jobs as better than those of the unemployed group on all eight of these descriptive job items. Five of the eight differences between group means attained statistical significance. The employed participants reported that they were treated better by the companies for which they worked, that their co-workers were friendlier, and that they were more satisfied with their pay. This group also rated their chances for better jobs with the same companies and the certainty they felt that they could keep their current jobs significantly higher than the unemployed participants.

On five items the placed group rated their jobs better than those who had found their positions through CEP. Four of the differences between means were slight, with only pay satisfaction reaching significance. The placement group's greater satisfaction with pay reflects quite realistically that they earned, on the average, significantly more than the other group (see the discussion on wages in Chapter 8). The nonplacement group rated their jobs slightly better on two questions, and the groups' ratings tied on another. Both groups tended to rate their jobs rather favorably on these questions.

Supervision. An example of the importance of the supervisor lies in the difference between the ratings of the employed and unemployed groups of participants. On each of the final eight questions in Table 7-8, the mean rating of supervision by the employed group exceeds that of the unemployed; on five of them, the differences are statistically significant.

In general, members of the employed group reported getting along much better with their immediate supervisors. These participants felt their supervisors did not push them as much (all items were scored so that high scores were positive), that they explained things about the job more adequately, complimented them more frequently, and criticized them less than had the supervisors of the unemployed group.

At this point, mention of the importance of the supervisor as the immediate liaison between worker and company is appropriate. He apparently represents the face of the employer, especially to the work-naive, freshly processed CEP participant. Employed participants were more likely to see their supervisors as being friendly, accepting, and helpful. If the supervisor was seen otherwise, the likelihood of the participant's being employed when interviewed seemed to shrink considerably. While this type of analysis cannot state which variable is cause and which is effect, it does seem likely that an accepting supervisor could ease the problems a CEP placement would have in adjusting to a job and thereby enhance his chances of remaining employed.

One of the inadequacies of the CEP program was its apparent inability to positively influence the supervisors on the placement jobs. They were viewed by their workers as being the same as the supervisors on non-CEP-obtained jobs. In fact, on seven of the supervisor items, the placement group rated their immediate bosses slightly less favorably than did members of the other group.

For the most part, the job rating questions contributed very little to an understanding of possible differences between placement and non-placement participant groups and the jobs they held. They were more successful in describing the differences between the employed and unemployed participants in their perceptions of most recent jobs.

Job Satisfaction and Employment Status

Job satisfaction was measured through use of the Job Descriptive Index described earlier in the chapter. Table 7-9 lists the mean scores calculated for each of the five areas measured by the JDI by the employed and unemployed groups, by those whose most recent jobs had been CEP placements, and by those who had found these jobs on their own. Where significant differences exist between means, the probability levels of the differences are indicated by asterisks.

A score of 54 on the JDI denotes complete satisfaction in the areas of work, supervision, or people. Since the pay and promotion scales had only half as many items, 27 represents the top score possible on each of them. A score of 0 for any of the five signifies complete dissatisfaction, and middle range scores reflect mixed feelings concerning given areas.

Table 7-9

Mean Job Satisfaction Scores of Employed and Unemployed Participants and of Those on Placement and Nonplacement Jobs

	Employed	Unemployed	Placed	Nonplaced
Work	28.4	24.7*	27.9	26.0
Pay	13.8	11.0**	14.0	11.6**
Supervision	37.7	33.2**	36.1	35.6
Promotion	14.5	10.8**	14.3	11.9**
People (co-workers)	35.8	32.6	35.7	33.5

*Difference significant $p < .05$.
**Difference significant $p < .01$.

As had been anticipated, those employed at the time of the follow-up uniformly expressed more satisfaction with their jobs than did the currently unemployed. Of the five areas, only the difference between mean scores on people (co-workers) failed to attain significance. This indicates that the employed group was more satisfied with actual work, with the pay levels associated with their jobs, with the type and amount of supervision offered, and with their chances for promotion.

Despite these mean rating differences between groups, both sets of participants tended to look less favorably upon their work, pay, and promotion opportunities than upon supervision and the other people encountered on the job. Each of the interpersonal areas was described in a generally positive manner by both employed and unemployed participants. For the nonpersonal measures, the feelings of the employed group tended to be mixed; those of the unemployed were mixed to negative.

Although the CEP-placed participants uniformly reported greater satisfaction on the JDI, their mean score exceeded that of the nonplaced group for only two of the scales--pay and prospects for promotion. These differences are in accord with the data on wages reported in Chapter 8 which indicate that the placed respondents received higher wages and more rapid wage increases than those on nonplacement jobs. This may have influenced their expectations as to promotions. Despite these differences between the placement and nonplacement groups, both tended to rate the five areas either in the middle of the scale or with marked favorability; neither rated any area as being generally unsatisfactory. Nonetheless, it does seem that CEP-obtained jobs were perceived as slightly more satisfactory than those available without the help of CEP.

ATTITUDES UNDERLYING THE MEASURES OF MOST RECENT JOBS

The analyses of the data on most recent jobs presented to this point have given each variable equal weight. To explore whether there was a smaller number of more basic attitudes reflected in the twenty-eight ratings and five JDI scores, these thirty-three variables were factor analyzed. Factor analysis is a method of extracting from a matrix of intercorrelations certain patterns that indicate which of the variables "go together." The variables that "go together" are indicated by factors, each of which has loadings (coefficients) for all the variables in the original correlation matrix. The loadings are interpreted much like a correlation coefficient. The closer the loading for a variable approaches unity (1.0), the more the variance in responses to that variable can be explained by the factor. The amount of variance that can be explained is the square of the factor loading. A loading of .40 explains only 16 percent of the variance in a variable, while a loading of .80 explains 64 percent. In interpreting the meaning of any one factor the variables with the highest loadings obviously have the most importance.

Separate factor analyses were conducted for the former CEP participants and their co-workers. Eight factors were extracted for both groups, four of which were much the same and four which, while basically similar, had some interesting differences. The four factors with the most similarity are shown in Table 7-10 and the four with the differences are shown in Table 7-11. These tables list only the loadings that were .40 or higher for either the participants or the co-workers. If the loading was this high for one group and not the other, the loadings under .40 are shown in parentheses.

Factors That Were Similar for Participants and Co-workers

The first of the four factors in Table 7-10 shows that a general feeling of satisfaction with one's job was reflected in response to items which indicated a liking for the kinds of things one does on the job, in feeling the things learned would be useful in other jobs, in being proud of the job and the company, and in a favorable score on the JDI measure of work satisfaction. The former CEP participants also had high loadings on the other JDI scales, but this was not true for their co-workers. This suggests that the co-workers were somewhat more differentiating in their responses to the JDI. The former participants tended to be more influenced by their overall attitudes toward their jobs. If they liked or disliked their jobs, these general attitudes were reflected in responses to each of the five areas.

The figures at the bottom of the columns labeled "percentage of variance" indicate that the general satisfaction factor accounts for 12 percent of the variance in the original matrix of participant intercorrelation and 14 percent in the matrix of co-worker intercorrelations. Since ones (1.0) were used in the diagonal for the factor analysis, this is the proportion of the total, not the explained, variance. The eight factors in Tables 7-10 and 7-11 altogether account for 64 percent of the variance in the intercorrelation of the participants and 69 percent of the variance in the intercorrelations of the co-workers. Approximately one-third of the variance in the twenty-eight ratings and five JDI scores cannot be explained by these eight factors. If additional factors were extracted more of the variance could, of course, be accounted for, but each successive factor would explain less. Some test runs were made which extracted more than eight factors, but the additional factors tended to be unstable and specific to individual items. The factors shown in the two tables have significant loadings on at least two variables.

The other three factors presented in Table 7-10 refer to perceptions of one's own performance, friendliness of co-workers, and adequacy of the conditions under which one works. It can be seen that the patterns for both the former CEP participants and their co-workers were much the same. The loadings not shown for these factors were all below .40 for both groups of respondents.

Factors That Were Different for Participants and Co-workers

Table 7-11 presents the patterns for the four factors that were somewhat different for the two groups of respondents. The differences in these

Table 7-10

Factor Patterns That Were Similar for Former Participants and Co-workers

Variables	General Satisfaction		Own Performance		Friendliness of Co-workers		Working Conditions	
	Part[a]	Co.	Part	Co.	Part	Co.	Part	Co.
1.[b] Like to do things	.43	.79						
3. Things learned useful	.50	.70						
4. Try to do best work	(.26)	.51	.70	.61				
5. Proud of job	.56	.77						
10. Job fits own skills	.51	.70						
11. Think about job	(.19)	.43						
16. Chance for better job	.52	(.26)						
17. Proud of company	.53	.67						
19. Satisfied with pay	.45	.33						
JDI Work	.70	.68						
JDI Pay	.48	(.28)						
JDI Supervision	.41	(.15)						
JDI Promotion	.70	(.22)			(.35)	.73		
JDI Co-worker	.55	(.26)						
6. How well do job			.72	.59				
9. Control over speed, pace			.48	(.12)				
12. Where rate yourself			.63	.73				
13. How company treats					.41	(.16)		
14. Helpful other workers					.79	.62		
18. Friendly other workers					.63	.76		
2. Hard physical work							.79	.79
8. Working conditions							.75	.55
Percentage of Variance	12	14	7	6	6	6	5	4

[a] Part. = CEP participants; Co. = Co-workers.

[b] Refers to item number on job rating questionnaire.

Table 7-11

Factor Patterns That Were Different for Former Participants and Co-workers

Variables	Supervision			Pay (I), Effort (II), Advancement-Security (III)				
	Part[a]	Co.		Participants			Co-workers	
		A	B	I	II	III	I, II	II, III
13.[b] How company treats	.44	.46	(.04)					
21. Get along with supervisor	.79	.65	(.32)					
24. Supervisor explains	.77	.81	(.01)					
25. Supervisor helpful	.79	.85	(.11)					
26. Supervisor compliments	.66	.74	(-.02)					
28. How well like supervisor	.77	.70	(.22)					
JDI Supervision	.70	.77	(.17)					
22. Supervisor pushes	.68	(.22)	.76					
23. Supervisor watches	.65	(.11)	.75					
27. Supervisor criticizes	.59	(.12)	.71					
15. How well paid				.71			.71	
19. Satisfied with pay				.69			.68	
JDI Pay				.67			.75	
7. Ever stay late					.72			.67
11. Think about job					.62			.67
9. Control over speed, pace						.41		.64
16. Chances for better job						.55	.55	.53
17. Proud of company						(.21)	.47	
20. Sure will keep job						.62	.62	.50
JDI Promotion						(.16)	.59	(.28)
Percentage of Variance	17	13	7	5	6	6	11	8

[a] Part. = CEP participants; Co. = co-workers.

[b] Refers to item number on job rating questionnaire.

patterns have implications for the job retention of the type of worker who obtains his position through a CEP.

The major difference is in the patterns of supervision. The measures obtained from the former CEP participants yielded only one factor on supervision. All eight of the ratings scales concerning various aspects of supervisory behavior had high loadings on this factor, together with the JDI supervision scale and the item "How well does this company treat workers like you?" These loadings indicate that former CEP participants held general attitudes toward their supervisors which were reflected in all these measures. The loading of the "how company treats" item on this factor underscores the relationship between the way supervisors acted toward lower level workers and the employees' perceptions of how their companies treated them.

The measures of supervision obtained from the co-workers did not all load on the same factor. The analysis of the co-workers' ratings yielded two factors related to supervision which are labeled "A" and "B" in Table 7-11. The A factor includes the items on how well a worker gets along with his supervisor, how well the supervisor explains things, how helpful the supervisor is when the worker has a problem, and so on. The general tone of these items suggests they are touching on the quality of the interpersonal relationships between supervisors and workers, or on the support which supervisors give to their workers. The B factor for the co-workers seems to involve an entirely different dimension--supervisory pressure. The three items with significant loadings concern how much the supervisor pushes the worker to work harder, how closely the supervisor watches the worker, and how much he criticizes if the worker is late or absent for a day.

The two dimensions of support and pressure are quite distinct among the co-workers. The items with high loadings on the support factor have low loadings on the pressure factor and vice versa. Among the former CEP participants, all the supervisory items load on the same factor. This difference suggests that new workers with limited or generally negative prior work experiences--the kinds of workers the CEP tried to place--do not distinguish their supervisors' pressure for more production from the supervisors' other behavior toward them. They seem to regard all supervisory actions along the same dimension. Their failure to distinguish this pressure from the supervisors' other actions makes them likely to interpret such pressure as evidence of personal dislike for them. (Criticism or pressure is seen as an aspect of a personal relationship.) The co-workers, however, see production pressure as separate from their personal relationships with their supervisors. When supervisor behavior is seen in these two perspectives, the pressure is less threatening. The co-worker does not sense a personal insult or challenge if he is watched closely or asked to work harder; the supervisor is seen as just doing his job. The former CEP participant who does not make this distinction is likely to feel threatened and disliked when he is closely supervised.

This interpretation was supported by the factor analysis of the measures of most recent jobs by employment status.[2] Of those former participants for whom complete job rating and JDI data were available, 186 (61%) were employed when interviewed and 120 were unemployed. The factor analysis of the data for the former yielded two factors relating to supervision, similar to the factors for the co-workers. The data on unemployed participants yielded a single factor for supervision. The supervision factors for the two groups are presented in Table 7-12. Although these factors are not identical to the supervision factors for participants and co-workers shown in Table 7-11, they are quite similar. There are clearly two separate factors for the employed participants and only one for the unemployed. The A factor involves the interpersonal items, the B factor the pressure items. The employed participants thus distinguished these two aspects of supervisor behavior just as their co-workers did. The unemployed tended to view all supervisor actions along the same dimension; thus criticism or the pressure of close supervision was more likely to affect their total relationships with their supervisors.

The other three factors identified for the former participants and their co-workers also appear to have implications for job retention. The factors that are labeled I, II, and III in Table 7-11 refer to pay, individual effort, and advancement-security. Among the former participants these emerged as three separate factors. Among the co-workers the items referring to advancement-security had high loadings on one factor with the pay items and on another factor with the effort items. It is also of interest that among the co-workers the items "How well does this company treat workers like you?" and "How proud are you to work for this company?" had loadings over .40 on the pay-advancement-security factor. The differences in these patterns imply that for the former CEP participants there was little perceived relationship between their individual efforts and the rewards their jobs yielded. Pay was seen as distinct from advancement and security, which were distinct from individual effort. Their co-workers tended to see pay, security, chances for advancement, how they were treated by their companies, and their pride in working for them in a more unified manner. For the co-workers the advancement-security items also had high loadings on another factor together with the items on individual effort.

The differences in these factors between the former participants and their co-workers are not conclusive, but they do suggest that the co-workers were more likely than the CEP participants to see some relationship between their efforts and what they received from their employers with regard to pay, advancement, and security. In other words, they had an expectation that some payoff, some return, would result from their efforts. The participants tended to see their efforts as independent of any payoffs.

Comparisons of the factor analyses of the employed and unemployed participants yielded another finding similar to one of the participant-co-worker

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[2] The analysis by employment status was conducted only for the participants because all but 11 percent of the co-workers (fifteen respondents) were employed when interviewed.

Table 7-12

Supervision Factors for Former CEP Participants Employed and Unemployed When Interviewed

		Unemp.	Emp.	
			A	B
5.	Proud of job	(.29)	.40	(.08)
13.	How company treats	.55	.47	(.14)
17.	Proud of company	(.33)	.45	(.09)
18.	Friendly other workers	.54	(.26)	(.15)
21.	Get along with supervisor	.85	.70	(.30)
24.	Supervisor explains	.84	.76	(.11)
25.	Supervisor helpful	.86	.81	(.11)
26.	Supervisor compliments	.64	.71	(.08)
28.	How well like supervisor	.78	.81	(.23)
	JDI Work	(.24)	.42	(.05)
	JDI Supervision	.75	.65	(-.03)
	JDI Co-workers	.42	.45	(.15)
9.	Control over speed, pace	(.29)	(.05)	.49
22.	Supervisor pushes	.83	(.24)	.74
23.	Supervisor watches	.73	(.32)	.59
27.	Supervisor criticizes	.69	(.33)	.43
	Percentage of variance	22	16	6

differences. For the employed participants the items referring to individual effort loaded on the same factor with the security item, just as they did in the co-worker sample. The measures of chances for advancement, however, did not have significant loadings on this factor. Among the employed participants, the advancement scores loaded on the factor that seems to reflect overall satisfaction with one's job. In addition to advancement, the items with high loadings refer to pride in the job and the company, how well the job suits one's skills, how much one learns, security, and the JDI scores on work and co-workers. Thus, to the employed participants, chances for advancement appear to be an inherent part of overall satisfaction. Among the unemployed participants, however, the advancement variables constituted a separate factor. The measures referring to perceived adequacy of pay also constituted a separate factor for both the employed and unemployed participants.

The differences in the patterns found for the participants and the co-workers--and,to a lesser degree, for the employed and unemployed participants--seem reasonable given the amount of work experience of the respondents in the groups. Workers with more limited or more negative experiences could be expected to be less differentiating in their perceptions of their supervisors' behavior and less likely to see their individual efforts yielding any returns. Much of their prior work experience was in marginal jobs. Such jobs are usually low paying, require no prior experience or training, have poor working conditions, and are held for short periods of time. There can be little doubt that in most of these jobs individual effort was not rewarded and that supervisors were actually antagonistic toward the workers. Working in such jobs may well have developed the underlying attitudes identified through the factor analysis.

While such attitudes are understandable, they are not conducive to stable job adjustment. The worker who feels threatened by his supervisor or who sees no payoff from his own efforts is likely to leave his job whenever its pressures increase. He feels disliked and exploited and wonders why he should stay on such a job. A worker who repeatedly leaves jobs that become uncomfortable, however, never learns that a supervisor can press for production and still be helpful and supportive. The worker who expects to be mistreated is, through the process known as self-fulfilling prophecy, more likely to be mistreated and, thus, is more likely to leave the job. Each new negative experience reinforces previously held attitudes and produces a set of deeply ingrained expectations which are contrary to the development of stable work patterns. Some possible interventions for breaking this cycle are discussed in Chapter 10.

Summary

This chapter has attempted to examine the former CEP participants' perceptions of the job climate at the time of follow-up through their reactions to experiences on their most recent jobs, approximately half of which were still being held.

The job ratings of the participants were compared to those gathered from matched samples of co-workers and supervisors. The individuals in these groups tended to perceive the characteristics of the jobs--such as work conditions, company treatment, and interpersonal aspects--differently, which yielded low intercorrelations of job ratings. Despite the low intercorrelations the agreement of the participants and co-workers was slightly suggestive of a shared "worker perspective." There was little agreement across groups, but there was considerable intercorrelation among various measures within groups. The respondents, especially supervisors, seemed to respond to many of the rating items in terms of consistent overall evaluations of the jobs and individual performances.

In evaluating job performance, the self-ratings of the participants were as high as those of the co-workers, but the supervisors tended to rate the participants somewhat lower than their co-workers. Nevertheless, the most notable finding arising from these comparisons was the basic similarity between the former participants and their co-workers in their evaluations of their own performances. These results were substantiated by the agreement found from comparisons of the job ratings and a standardized job satisfaction measure (JDI).

Further comparisons were made on the job rating questionnaire and the JDI, this time between subgroups of former CEP participants defined by their employment status at follow-up and by whether their most recent jobs had been CEP placements. The employed participants definitely tended to evaluate their current jobs more favorably than the unemployed considered their most recent positions. The employed group also expressed significantly greater satisfaction with their jobs. There were fewer differences between ratings based on placement status, although those whose most recent jobs had been found with the aid of CEP seemed somewhat more satisfied than participants who had found their own jobs.

Factor analyses of responses to the job rating questionnaire and to the JDI further supported and amplified these findings. The analyses showed that the former CEP participants tended to evaluate their jobs and gauge their reactions along several dimensions that were basically similar to those of the co-workers. However, these evaluations and reactions were found to be less differentiated than those of the co-workers, especially regarding supervision. The participants were less able to discriminate between the role required of the supervisor by the nature of his job and his own interpersonal behavior. This tendency of the work-naive participants to react to global impressions of the supervisor highlighted the importance of the immediate superior in determining the attitudes and opinions of the participants toward their jobs.

The factor analyses also pointed to a difference between the participants and the co-workers, in that the latter group perceived their efforts on the job as being related to the rewards they received from working. The former participants were apparently less sure that a cause and effect relationship existed between their own efforts and positive reinforcement on the job.

Also, when the responses were factor analyzed, the patterns for former participants who were actively employed at the time of follow-up were found to be more similar to those of the co-workers than were the patterns for participants who were out of work. Being employed was related to more differentiated perceptions of job features, especially supervision, and to a recognition of the relationship between individual effort and potential rewards.

Chapter 8

EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCES AFTER CEP

Even if a Concentrated Employment Program could successfully retain participants and instill positive attitudes toward work and job experiences, it could not be considered totally successful. To accomplish its primary goal its participants must be placed in jobs which offer stability, decent wages, and the potential for upward mobility. The intent of this chapter is to describe the work experiences of the participants after the end of their formal association with CEP and to report on whether CEP could claim to have secured for its participants jobs which were stable and which provided adequate wages and opportunities for advancement.

Several important variables contributed to the employment experiences of the participants, including the types of jobs held, the companies for which former participants worked, the socioeconomic status of the jobs, and the wages, further training, and stability they provided. Data on these variables were gathered during two periods after the participants had separated from CEP. The first interviews, conducted soon after they had left the program, provided a look at certain immediate effects related to program completion. At this point, averaging one to two weeks after last contacts with CEP, about two-thirds of those who had completed the program were employed. This compares to about one-third employed among the program dropouts and those who never enrolled (ex antes).

Former participants were also interviewed approximately nine to ten months after leaving CEP (follow-up). Questions asked of the respondents at this time concerned their total employment experiences since CEP, with special emphasis on their current or most recently held jobs. As a simple comparison to the figures compiled at the earlier interviews, it was found that, at follow-up, 63 percent of the completers and 48 percent of the dropouts were employed. Almost a year after the CEP experience, the completers retained their advantage in terms of number employed, but more dropouts than previously were holding jobs.

Other data gathered during these two interview periods are reported in the three major sections of this chapter. The first describes the jobs held by former participants during follow-up. Most of the jobs held by completers during this interval had been found with the aid of CEP, but many completers had also held at least one non-CEP-placed job. The methods used in finding the latter jobs are compared to those used by dropouts, and by a sample of non-CEP co-workers representing regular members of the Columbus work force. For each group, personal referrals were found to be the prime source for finding non-CEP jobs. Next, the types of jobs held and the companies for which the respondents worked are described. These jobs differed among groups primarily because CEP tended to place more completers with manufacturing concerns in production jobs, such as machine trades and bench work. Job and company type, however, were not found to be related to employment status at follow-up.

The second section of the chapter describes the quality of the jobs held in terms of socioeconomic status, wages, and the training they provided. CEP experience, it was found, did not enhance the trainees' prospects in terms of status or with respect to the likelihood that they would find jobs offering substantial further training. It did, however, improve the earnings of completers during the period covered by the follow-up. Members of each of the respondent groups--completers, dropouts, and co-workers--generally reported liking their jobs, although as a group the co-workers seemed most satisfied. This is perhaps a result of the overall superiority of their jobs in terms of socioeconomic status and earnings.

The third major section of this chapter considers employment stability and the factors contributing to it. Reasons cited for leaving jobs are first discussed. Most were not company actions, such as firing or layoff, but personal reasons, e.g., sickness or travel difficulties. Next, a regression analysis of employment soon after separation from the program is explained. This analysis indicates that it was not merely whether or not the individual completed CEP that contributed to immediate employment, as might have been surmised, but his experiences in the program. It appears that participation in CEP was a necessary condition to increase the employment potential of the hard-core individual but it was not sufficient. The individual must have had certain types of experiences while in CEP for his employability to be increased. These appear to be having a regular coach, accepting jobs that CEP refers one to, and feeling that CEP provided what one wanted. These experiences are discussed in connection with the regression analysis of employment.

The third section deals with employment during the entire follow-up period. CEP completers are shown to have been employed a greater proportion of the period covered by the follow-up than dropouts. A second multiple regression analysis of total post-CEP employment further differentiates factors contributing to more stable job retention, primarily the sex of participants and the apparent ineffectiveness of CEP's orientation program.

Finally, this section includes a third multiple regression analysis combining all major data on the jobs currently or most recently held at follow-up. It points out the continuing but sometimes misleading importance of having been placed on a job by CEP, and the major difference which wages make to job retention. Comparisons between the results of the analysis of the most recent jobs, the analysis reported earlier on total employment, and other previously reported findings are also presented.

JOBS HELD

The purpose of this section is to describe the jobs held by the trainees after their CEP experience had been completed. Included are data on how jobs were found, which types of companies employed the former participants, and the occupational categories of the positions held.

How the Jobs Were Found

As described earlier, the people who had been involved formally with the CEP program, whether completers or dropouts, were contacted approximately one to two weeks after their separation from the program. Those who were classified as ex antes (potential participants who expressed an interest but never took part in CEP) were also contacted, when possible, during the early portion of the follow-up period. If respondents were found to be employed at the time of these early interviews, they were asked to describe how they had obtained jobs. The means of finding jobs reported by the respondents are shown in Table 8-1.

Placement on a job through CEP was described as the prime agent in obtaining jobs by a majority of the completers; the placement service even helped almost one out of four respondents who had dropped out of the program before formally terminating. Agencies such as the Employment Service, day labor offices, and Urban League, and personal referrals from friends and relatives were major methods used by the ex antes to obtain jobs. Roughly three-quarters of the completer sample was employed at this juncture, compared to about one-third of the dropouts--the difference apparently largely attributable to the intervention of CEP in finding jobs for successful participants. It seems, then, that CEP completers were more likely to be employed than program dropouts or ex antes. However, when employment status was analyzed by an elaborate regression model (to be discussed), the independent effect of CEP completion was not significant although some experiences while in CEP were.

By the time of the follow-up interview, virtually all of the completers and more than three-quarters of the dropouts had held at least one job. The respondents were asked to recall how they had found their first jobs after CEP. This was done in order to afford comparability between the groups, since only about 40 percent of the former participants had held more than one position.

Table 8-1

How Job Was Found Shortly after Separation from CEP, by Classification of Respondent

	Completer	Dropout	Ex Ante
	%	%	%
CEP	70	21	2
On own	7	36	43
Employment Service, union, or similar agency	3	6	23
Other (friend, relative, ad)	4	12	31
Not ascertained	15	24	2
Total	99	99	101
Number	163	33	61

Ninety-nine percent of the completers reported having obtained at least one job directly through CEP. The completers who also had held non-CEP jobs were compared to the dropouts and to the co-workers on their methods of obtaining these jobs. This information is reported in Table 8-2. The strategy employed by most of the respondents in each of the three groups involved reliance upon a friend, relative, or other personal referral. The next most popular strategy reported was direct application to a company, without definite knowledge that a position was, in fact, available. Combined, these two accounted for at least three-quarters of the non-CEP jobs held by members of each group. The more formal (and perhaps reliable) sources for job referrals, such as mass media advertising or social and employment agencies, were used very infrequently by the respondents, including the more seasoned co-workers. CEP, then, did little to change the manner in which participants sought jobs on their own. The peripheral workers who constituted the target population of the program tended to use the same resources in attempting to find work as did the co-workers, who had never participated in CEP.

Table 8-2

How the First Non-CEP Job was Obtained, by Classification of Respondent

	Completer	Dropout	Co-worker
	%	%	%
On own	20	28	16
Friend, relative, etc.	65	52	61
Advertisement	6	10	8
Employment agency	3	7	10
Other public agency	6	4	5
Total	101	101	100
Number	99	102	143

Types of Jobs

To examine the types of jobs held by the respondents during the follow-up period, their jobs were categorized according to the first digits of the Dictionary of Occupational Titles job codes. The following discussion of jobs held two weeks after CEP, the first jobs held, and the most recently held jobs is based upon this categorization.

Table 8-3 records the DOT categories of the jobs held by completers, dropouts, and ex antes at the time of their first post-CEP interviews. Completers held positions representing a somewhat wider range of occupations than did members of the other groups, although the largest proportion of this group were involved in production work (machine trades and bench work). The dropouts and, especially, the ex antes were more likely to be employed in service jobs.

Table 8-3

Occupation Category of Jobs Found Two Weeks after Separation from CEP, by Classification of Respondent

DOT Category	Completer	Dropout	Ex Ante
	%	%	%
Professional, technical, managerial	6	--	--
Clerical, sales	23	24	10
Service	17	24	36
Processing	1	--	--
Machine trades	23	15	13
Bench work	6	--	2
Structural work	9	6	18
Miscellaneous	4	9	3
Not ascertained	11	21	18
Total	100	99	100
Number	163	33	61

The DOT types of first held and most recently held jobs, recorded at follow-up, were combined into fewer general categories to allow statistical comparison between groups. The combinations are noted in Table 8-4, where types of jobs are reported by classification of respondents as completers or dropouts, employed or unemployed at follow-up, and those whose most recent jobs had been CEP placements or had been found through other means.

Almost one-half (48%) of the first post-CEP jobs held by completers could be classified under production. Each of the remaining categories accounted for a substantially smaller proportion of these jobs. The portion of the completer group which had also held at least one non-CEP position resembled the larger group in the job types of their first CEP placements, as Table 8-4 indicates. And, although no statistically significant differences exist

Table 8-4

Occupation Category of First CEP Placement, First Nonplacement, and Currently (or Most Recently) Held Jobs, by Classification of Respondent

DOT Category	First CEP and Non-CEP Jobs					Jobs Currently or Most Recently Held at Follow-up			
	Completer	Completer Subgroup		Dropout	Co-worker	Employed Participants	Unemployed Participants	Participants on Placement Jobs	Participants on Nonplacement Jobs
	First CEP	First CEP	First Non-CEP	First Non-CEP	First Non-CEP				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Production* (DOT codes 5,6,7)	48	47	30	22	31	35	31	48	22
Service (DOT code 3)	16	19	34	39	29	28	30	18	37
White Collar** (DOT codes 0,1,2)	13	13	13	17	23	13	12	13	12
Structural Work (DOT code 8)	13	8	9	14	9	14	13	11	16
Miscellaneous	10	13	13	9	8	11	14	10	14
Total	100	100	99	101	100	101	100	100	101
Number	204	99	99	102	139	205	147	153	199

*Processing, machine trades, bench work.

**Professional, technical, managerial, clerical, sales.

between the first CEP and first non-CEP jobs held by these program completers, it may be noted that the CEP placements were more highly represented in the production category than were the non-CEP jobs. Conversely, the non-CEP positions tended to be classified under service occupations.

Table 8-4 also records the percentages of the first non-CEP jobs held by members of the completer, dropout, and co-worker groups according to their DOT classifications. Again, no statistically significant differences in job type are apparent among the three groups. Production and service jobs, combined, accounted for at least 60 percent of the first non-CEP jobs in each group. There appears to be some tendency for the completer group to more closely resemble the co-workers, especially in the percentage of each group reporting employment production and service occupations.

One method of grouping the 352 participants who were employed following CEP was on the basis of whether their most recent work experience had been in jobs obtained through CEP or on their own initiative. This grouping afforded the chance to examine possible differences between the jobs that CEP could provide its trainees and the jobs that were available to them through other means. The CEP placement group consisted of 153 participants; the nonplaced group had 199. The 153, it should be noted, do not represent the total CEP placements, but only those respondents who had obtained their most recent jobs through CEP. Nor were all of these 153 employed when interviewed. A little more than half (55%) were employed. For those respondents whose most recent jobs were not CEP placements, the proportion employed when interviewed was almost identical, 54 percent.

By comparing the placement and nonplacement groups on their most recent employment, it becomes apparent that CEP tended to place participants only in certain occupations. As Table 8-4 shows, the placement group differed significantly from the nonplacement on DOT job types ($X^2 = 32.08$, $p < .001$) mainly because of the larger proportion of the placed group working in production jobs. Of course, both placement and nonplacement groups included some members who were employed at follow-up and others who were not. Table 8-4 indicates that those participants employed at the time of follow-up did not differ significantly from the unemployed in the types of jobs they had or were currently holding ($X^2 = 1.01$, $p = .91$).

Thus, it is apparent that more former participants had been placed in production jobs and fewer in service positions than would have been the case had these persons found jobs on their own. While job type was found to bear little relation to actual employment at the time of follow-up, completion of the CEP program was strongly related to employment. Of those actually working at follow-up, 73 percent had completed the program. This compares to 58 percent completers among the unemployed group, a statistically significant difference ($X^2 = 7.55$, $p < .01$).

Types of Companies

The companies employing respondents during the follow-up period were grouped according to their Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) codes. Certain code groupings were combined to facilitate comparison of the companies employing respondents during the time of the study. These are reported, by classification of respondent, for first CEP, first non-CEP, and most recently held jobs in Table 8-5.

Almost two-thirds of the entire completer group (63%) held their first CEP-obtained job with a company dealing in the manufacture of goods. Those completers who, during the follow-up period, had held at least one CEP-obtained job and one non-CEP position did not differ significantly with respect to company type of their first placement from the larger completer group. The companies employing them on the first nonplacement job, however, did differ a great deal from those of the first placement ($X^2 = 16.27$, $p < .001$). As indicated in Table 8-5, far more of the nonplacement positions were with firms dealing in services, while substantially fewer were with manufacturing and white collar firms. On this basis, it seems that the CEP placement service tended to channel the participants into jobs with companies markedly different from those with whom they would otherwise have been likely to find employment. Far more of the placement jobs were with firms dealing in manufacturing.

When the completers were compared to the dropout and co-worker groups on the type of company providing the first non-CEP job (Table 8-5), no statistically significant differences were noted. The combination of manufacturing and service employers accounted for well over 60 percent of the first non-CEP jobs reported by respondents in each group.

The types of companies employing participants on their most recent jobs reflect the occupational differences noted in Table 8-4. When grouped by SIC codes, the employers of the placement group proved to be of quite a different order from those employing the others on the most recent job ($X^2 = 50.13$, $p < .001$). As Table 8-5 indicates, almost two-thirds of the placement group were most recently employed by manufacturing concerns. This compares to less than 30 percent of the others. Just as job type was found to be unrelated to employment status at follow-up, no significant difference was found between the employed and unemployed groups by company type ($X^2 = 2.51$, $p = .471$). Table 8-5 illustrates that both the employed and unemployed had their greatest representation among companies dealing in manufacturing (over 40%) and services (about 30%).

These comparisons indicate the Columbus CEP found jobs for its participants that were different from those they would have been likely to obtain through other means, placing them with the types of companies for whom they would otherwise not have been likely to work. However, neither the types of jobs nor the types of companies were found to significantly influence participants' employment status at follow-up.

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Table 8-5

Standard Industrial Classification of First Placement, First Nonplacement, and Currently (or Most Recently) Held Jobs, by Classification of Respondent

	First CEP and Non-CEP Jobs					Jobs Currently or Most Recently Held at Follow-up			
	Completer	Completer Subgroup		Dropout	Co-worker	Employed Participants	Unemployed Participants	Participants on Placement Jobs	Participants on Nonplacement Jobs
SIC Category	First CEP	First CEP	First Non-CEP	First Non-CEP	First Non-CEP				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Manufacturing (SIC codes 19-39)	63	58	36	25	36	43	44	64	27
Services (SIC codes 70-89)	13	10	36	43	28	26	32	15	39
White Collar* (SIC codes 50-67, 91-94)	15	20	13	15	21	16	13	10	19
Miscellaneous** (SIC codes 17, 40-49, 99)	9	12	14	17	14	15	12	11	16
Total	100	100	99	100	99	100	101	100	101
Number	204	99	99	98	141	205	147	153	199

*Wholesale and retail trades, finance, insurance and real estate, government.

**Construction, transportation, communication, utilities, agriculture, mining, etc.

QUALITY OF THE JOBS FOUND

Basic questions to ask of a CEP concern the quality of jobs which their participants obtain. The goal of this section is to answer such questions with regard to the Columbus CEP. The quality of post-CEP jobs is examined in relation to their socioeconomic status and the wages, total earnings, and training they provided.

Socioeconomic Status

When interviewed soon after their separation from CEP, the completers who were then employed seemed to enjoy an advantage in the socioeconomic status (SES) of their jobs (mean SES index = 28) over those held by employed dropouts (mean SES index = 24) and by employed ex antes (mean SES index = 21)[1]. These figures, suggestive only because of the proportionally small numbers of respondents then employed, seem to indicate a positive influence of program completion on the status of jobs later obtained. Such indications were later found to be rather spurious. The average SES indexes for all jobs held between separation from the program and follow-up (an average of nine to ten months later), showed that the jobs held by completers (mean SES index = 21.8) were no better than those of the dropouts (mean SES index = 21.9). Both groups had held jobs that were lower than those of the co-workers (mean SES index = 27.0).

While the jobs provided by CEP placement differed by occupation and company type from those found by participants through other channels, they were not much better in terms of socioeconomic status. The SES index for those jobs most recently held by the placement group averaged 22.3 compared to a 20.5 mean for the others. For those employed at follow-up, the SES index averaged 21.7 for the currently held job. The most recent job of the unemployed was only slightly lower, at 20.7.

In summary, the effects of program completion, placement by CEP, and employment status at follow-up were all negligible in influencing the socioeconomic status of jobs held. The occupations reported by all respondents were uniformly low, representing typical unskilled or semiskilled, low status employment.

Wages

Taking into account all employment between separation from CEP and the follow-up interviews, the average hourly wage earned by completers ($2.41) was greater than that earned by dropouts ($2.17) and similar to that of the co-workers ($2.44).[2] The higher wages received by completers were apparently not solely the result of the provision of superior jobs by CEP. For completers who had held both CEP and non-CEP jobs, wages for the two were quite similar (Table 8-6). Further, completers received higher wages than dropouts on their first non-CEP-obtained jobs. Of course, for most completers the first non-CEP job was at least the second job held after CEP, which is not true of the dropouts. The current or leaving wages on non-CEP-obtained jobs were also higher for completers than dropouts. Starting wages received by co-workers were about the same as for dropouts and lower than for completers. However, final wages were higher for the co-workers than for completers or dropouts. Apparently, co-workers started jobs at levels similar to those of dropouts, and their higher current wages may be attributed to their longer time on their jobs.

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[1] The definition of SES employed was the index developed by Duncan (1961).

An area in which differences existed between employed and unemployed participants at follow-up was that of wages. Table 8-6 records mean starting and current (or leaving) wages for the two groups, the average pay increases accumulated during the entire employment period and per month of employment, and the percentage increments represented by the raises for the full employment period.

Briefly, while neither mean starting nor mean current (or leaving) wages differed significantly between groups, in both cases the employed group enjoyed something of an edge. The raises earned by those who remained employed amounted to an average of 14 cents per hour compared to only 6 cents for the unemployed ($p < .001$). The percentage of pay increase for the employed group averaged 5.8, while the unemployed participants increased only 2.8 percent during their stay on the job ($p < .01$).

It does not appear, however, that wage increases were the cause of job retention; rather, these figures indicate that job retention was the cause of the wage increases. Those employed at the time of follow-up had held their most recent jobs more than twice as long (6.1 months) as the unemployed participants (3.0 months), a difference found to be significant beyond the .001 level ($t = 9.26$). Thus, while employed participants had gained better than double the hourly raises of the unemployed, they had also been working at their most recent jobs more than twice as long. There may have been an interaction between expectations of wage increases and retention; that is, those who felt more sure that their wages would be raised may have been more likely to stay on their jobs.

Table 8-6 also records wage information on the most recent jobs of the placement and nonplacement groups. The starting wage on placement jobs averaged 13 cents more than on other positions, but this difference did not reach statistical significance. The current (or leaving) wages did differ significantly between the groups, however: those in CEP-obtained jobs averaged

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[2] Average wage was calculated over all jobs by averaging the starting and leaving wages for each job and adjusting for the number of months each job was held.

Table 8-6

Hourly Wages on First Placement, First Nonplacement, and Currently (or Most Recently) Held Jobs, by Classification of Respondent

Wage Variable	First CEP and Non-CEP Jobs				Jobs Currently or Most Recently Held at Follow-up			
	Completers		Dropouts	Co-workers	Employed Participants	Unemployed Participants	Participants on Placement Jobs	Participants on Nonplacement Jobs
	First CEP	First Non-CEP	First Non-CEP	First Non-CEP				
Average Starting Wage	$2.33	$2.34	$2.12	$2.14	$2.31	$2.28	$2.37	$2.24
Average Current (or Leaving) Wage	$2.46	$2.44	$2.21	$2.70	$2.45	$2.34	$2.51	$2.32
Average Total Wage Increase	$.13	$.10	$.09	$.56	$.14	$.06	$.14	$.08
Average Total Percentage Increase	5.6%	4.3%	4.2%	26.2%	5.8%	2.8%	5.8%	3.6%
Average Increase per Month of Employment	a	a	a	a	$.023	$.020	$.025	$.020
Number	217	91	107	133	205	147	153	199

[a] Not available because of the manner in which job history data were coded.

slightly over \$2.50 per hour compared to \$2.32 per hour paid on other jobs. The placement group received raises averaging 14 cents an hour during their job tenure; the nonplacement group gained only 8 cents ($p < .01$). The percentage difference between the respective groups' raises was also found to be significant. There was a 5.8 percent increase for the placement group and a rise of only 3.6 percent for the others.

That wage increment differences are related to the length of job tenure is again readily apparent. Those in placement positions had worked at the most recent job for an average of 5.7 months, those on nonplacement jobs for 4.1 months ($t = 4.01$, $p < .001$). Just as with the comparison of employed versus unemployed, it is difficult to determine the direction of causation. Do higher wages--or, more specifically, increasing wages--cause retention, or does retention cause increasing wages? The employment analysis suggested tenure was the more significant variable, but the placement comparison suggests that more rapid increases, or at least the expectations of increasing wages, may contribute to retention.

The distributions of total post-CEP earnings for completers, dropouts, and co-workers are shown in Table 8-7. For the total sample, earnings of completers were higher than those of dropouts. The difference between the average earnings of the two groups is about \$1,000. However, this difference is primarily due to the presence, in the dropout group, of a large number of individuals who were never employed after CEP, and therefore had no earnings. When subjects who reported no income are removed from the samples, completers earned, on the average, \$355 more than dropouts. This difference, however, is not statistically significant, as there is a great deal of variation within groups.

Training Received on Jobs

The potential of a job for providing the worker with further training is another important criterion by which to evaluate the position. When asked how much training had been provided on their first CEP-obtained jobs, two-thirds of the entire completer group reported that they had received none; 20 percent mentioned that they had been provided with some on-the-job training; and only 12 percent reported that the first CEP placement had offered more than simple on-the-job instruction (Table 8-8).

As Table 8-8 also demonstrates, the members of the completer group who had held non-CEP as well as placement jobs reported a similar dearth of training while working at their first CEP positions. The training offered as part of the non-CEP jobs held by these respondents was similarly scanty, differing very little in quantity from that on the placement jobs.

When the amount of training described by the other two groups on the first non-CEP job is compared to that of the completers (Table 8-8), a difference approaching statistical significance is found ($X^2 = 12.36$, $p = .054$). Approximately 30 percent of the jobs held by co-workers and completers offered some training, compared to only 21 percent of the jobs held by dropouts.

Table 8-7

Total Earnings Since CEP for Completers, Dropouts and Co-workers

($)	Completers	Dropouts	Co-workers
	%	%	%
<1,000[a]	20	27	5
1,000-1,999	20	28	9
2,000-2,999	16	17	13
3,000-3,999	20	9	24
4,000-4,999	10	10	17
5,000-5,999	8	4	13
6,000-6,999	3	2	10
>7,000	2	2	9
Mean Earnings	$2,803	$2,448	$4,678
Number	227	108	141

[a] Does not include those with no earnings or no reported earnings.

Also, more of the co-workers found jobs offering training over and above that of the simple on-the-job variety. Again, in terms of training offered by the employer, the jobs held by the completer group more closely resembled those of the co-workers than did the jobs of the dropouts.

Although work attitudes are more fully discussed in Chapter 7, there are interesting differences between respondent groups in their replies to an overall question on how well they liked certain of their jobs. For instance, when employed respondents were interviewed two weeks after separation from the program, 84 percent of the completers, 73 percent of the dropouts, and 77 percent of the ex antes reported liking their jobs. More ex antes (18%) than members of the other groups reported disliking their jobs (9% each). At follow-up, when asked if they had liked their first CEP-obtained jobs, 64 percent of the entire completer group replied in the affirmative, 10 percent stated that they were unsure of how they felt or had mixed attitudes, and the remaining 26 percent claimed dislike for those jobs.

The subgroup of completers who had also held non-CEP jobs reported less satisfaction than had the full group on their first placement. Only 49 percent reported having liked the placement jobs; 9 percent were "in between"; and 41

Table 8-8

Training Received on First CEP Placement and First Nonplacement Jobs, by Classification of Respondents

	Completers	Completer Subgroup		Dropouts	Co-workers
Amount of Training	First CEP	First CEP	First Non-CEP	First Non-CEP	First Non-CEP
	%	%	%	%	%
None	67	72	68	79	71
On-the-job only	20	14	20	15	11
More than on-the-job	12	14	12	6	18
Total	99	100	100	100	100
Number	204	94	94	100	140

percent had definitely disliked those jobs. Their evaluations differed significantly from those of the larger group ($X^2 = 5.12$, $p < .025$). It should be remembered in considering this difference that the subgroup had not been as successful on the first placement jobs as had the completer group on the whole. To be included in the subgroup each member had to have had held at least one additional job during the follow-up period. Since many of the larger group had lasted substantially longer on the first placements it is logical to assume that they would report better attitudes toward them than men who had left and found other positions.

When evaluations of the first non-CEP jobs held by completers are compared to those of the dropouts and the co-workers, there is again a significant difference ($X^2 = 16.67$, $p < .005$). The percentages indicate that more of the co-workers (82%) liked their first jobs during the follow-up period than did either group of CEP participants (completers, 69%; dropouts, 65%). More dropouts (16%) than members of either other group (completers, 6%; co-workers, 10%) were noncommittal concerning their jobs, and more of the completers (25%) reported disliking them (dropouts, 19%; co-workers, 9%).

Generally, the co-workers, as a group, seem to have been most satisfied with their jobs. It appears likely that this would relate to their greater employment maturity and experience in the job market, representing an adjustment to the demands of daily work which a larger segment of the CEP participants had not successfully made.

EMPLOYMENT STABILITY

The ultimate goal of CEP is, of course, to place its participants in stable jobs which provide the potential for upward mobility. The real test, therefore, of the program's effectiveness is not how many of its participants obtain jobs but how many retain them or, at least, maintain steady employment. It is the purpose of this section to (1) examine how successful the Columbus CEP was in attaining this goal and (2) to attempt to isolate the factors which contributed to the success it did have.

Reasons for Leaving Jobs

Respondents were asked why they left jobs held after their contact with CEP. Reasons for leaving first and second jobs obtained through CEP (CEP jobs) and jobs obtained in other ways (non-CEP jobs) were coded for analysis. The patterns of responses were quite similar for completers and dropouts and for each of the different classes of jobs. The coded reasons for leaving first and most recent jobs are shown in Table 8-9.

More than one-third of the completers and dropouts, and two-thirds of the co-workers, were still working at the job being discussed. For those who had left jobs, the role of company action was generally minor. The percentage of completers who were fired or laid off from their first CEP jobs (22%) is slightly greater than that percentage for completers' and dropouts' first non-CEP jobs (about 15%).

Personal reasons not directly related to the job were given equally often by completers and dropouts regarding the first positions, that is, by about 20% of them. These reasons included problems such as sickness, jail, transportation difficulties, and day care needs. Reasons directly related to the job were mentioned somewhat less often than personal reasons. Apparently the majority of respondents, at least in their own assessments, did not react negatively to the jobs obtained. Jobs were, however, often left because various environmental obstacles interfered with a respondent's work behavior.

Racial prejudice was mentioned as a reason for leaving the first job by only four respondents in the entire sample. In response to a direct question on race prejudice encountered on jobs, about one-third of both the participant and co-worker samples reported encountering it. The CEP completers were over twice as likely (38%) as the dropouts (17%) to say that prejudice was a problem on jobs they had held. Since the completers attended the CEP orientation program in greater proportion than the dropouts, this difference may reflect greater awareness of discrimination developed by the ethnic history program. Thus, although prejudice was reported as occurring fairly frequently, it apparently was not severe enough for respondents to cite it as a reason for quitting.

Finally, only about 5 percent of each group left their first jobs for what may be considered a positive reason--i.e., to take another job--although

Table 8-9

Reasons for Leaving Jobs, by Classification of Respondent

	Completers		Dropouts	Co-workers	Participants at Follow-up
Reason for Leaving	First CEP Job	First Non-CEP Job	First Non-CEP Job	First Non-CEP Job	Most Recent Job
	%	%	%	%	%
Company action	22	15	14	6	15
Personal reason[a]	21	22	23	8	18
Dislike of job conditions	9	5	11	3	4
Dislike of job itself	5	5	3	1	2
Problem with pay	5	5	5	8	2
Other[b]	6	5	7	6	1
Subtotal	68	57	63	32	42
Still in job	32	42	36	69	57
Total	100	99	99	101	99
Number	205	95	95	137	360

[a] Includes sickness, family problems, jail, etc.

[b] Includes leaving to take another job.

the desire to find another job may have been implicit in the reasons cited by other respondents. Few individuals went to the extent of obtaining other jobs before they left their current positions. The reasons given by the unemployed participants for leaving their most recent jobs, also tabulated in Table 8-9, are quite consistent with those discussed in reference to leaving the first jobs. It should be recalled that there was a considerable overlap between the first and most recent jobs held by the respondents.

Employment Soon after Separation from CEP

Table 8-10 shows the employment status of the three main groups of respondents during the post-program interview, which occurred, on the average, about two weeks after their official separation from CEP. The table indicates that almost one-third of the CEP completers were unemployed at that time. This is not an encouraging figure, but it is far better than the percentages for dropouts and ex antes. It would appear from this comparison that the CEP had a significant effect on employability soon after program completion. When employment status was analyzed in a more elaborate model, however, this association was not evident. Being employed was associated with some experiences in CEP and with attitudes toward CEP, but not with CEP completion alone.

Table 8-10

Employment Status When Interviewed Two Weeks after Separation from CEP, by Classification of Respondent

	Completer	Dropout	Ex Ante
	%	%	%
Employed	55	36	29
Unemployed	30	59	71
In a training program	12	1	--
Not ascertained	2	4	1
Total	99	100	101
Number	295	93	211

The Model. The regression analysis of employment status utilized many variables based on CEP experiences; therefore the ex ante respondents were not included. A summary of the variables used in the equation is given in Table 8-11. Just as in the regression analysis of probability of dropping out (Chapter 6, Table 6-22), it was necessary to reduce the sample to those respondents for whom complete data were available in order to utilize all variables in the equation. In this case the sample was reduced to 135, 102 completers and 33 dropouts. Once again, although the total number is much smaller, the characteristics of the reduced sample are much the same as those of the complete sample.

Table 8-11

Basic Information concerning Variables Used in Regression Models Gathered Two Weeks after Separation from CEP

Variable	Code	Mean	S.D.[a]	C.V.[b]
Attitude toward pay in CEP	1=not enough; 2=OK, adequate; 3=good	1.92	.66	34.32
Able to get along on CEP pay	1=no; 2=barely; 3=yes	2.28	.81	35.38
Got from CEP what wanted	1=yes; 0=no	.53	.49	92.81
Willing to enter CEP again	1=yes; 0=no	.74	.41	55.57
Expected pay, currently	$	115.33	39.52	34.26
Expected pay, future	$	153.50	72.67	47.34
Attended orientation	1=yes; 0=no	.81	.39	48.43
Talked to ES counselor	1=yes; 0=no	.51	.49	95.95
Had regular coach	1=yes; 0=no	.60	.48	80.67
Rec'd supportive services	1=yes; 0=no	.19	.38	195.43
Problems with CEP	1=yes; 0=no	.08	.24	303.09
Problems with CEP pay	1=yes; 0=no	.19	.37	192.99
Problems with transportation	1=yes; 0=no	.11	.30	265.68
Referred to job didn't take	1=yes; 0=no	.29	.42	147.70
Completer	1=yes; 0=no	.76	.43	57.09
Dropout	1=yes; 0=no	.24	.43	176.47
Employed currently	1=yes; 0=no	.56	.50	88.43
Age	Actual years	25.81	9.89	38.30
Sex	1=male; 0=female	.73	.45	61.68
Physical handicap	1=no; 0=yes	.90	.31	34.14
Marital status	1=married; 0=otherwise	.27	.44	166.46
Number of dependents	Actual number	1.11	1.48	133.16
Race	1=Negro; 0=Other	.98	.15	15.13
Public assistance recipient	1=no; 0=yes	.86	.35	40.62
Years of school completed	Actual number	10.36	1.78	17.15
Other federal programs	Actual number	.33	.60	182.97
Previous employment				
1-2 years[c]	1=yes; 0=otherwise	.33	.47	141.94
3-9 years	1=yes; 0=otherwise	.30	.46	154.67
10 or more	1=yes; 0=otherwise	.19	.39	210.59
Estimated hourly earnings, last job	$	1.75	.66	37.74
Estimated income, last 12 months	$	1367.67	1015.71	74.27
Weeks unemployed, current	Actual number	16.39	17.89	109.11
Number		135		

[a] S.D. = Standard deviation.

[b] C.V. = Coefficient of variation.

[c] Less than one year entered the constant term.

The first column in Table 8-11 provides a concise definition of each variable. In the second column, the manner in which the variable was coded for the statistical analysis is given. It can be seen that most of the variables are of the "dummy" (dichotomous) variety, in which values of 0 and 1 are assigned (in some cases, the variable may assume other values, such as 1, 2, and 3). For example, those who indicated that they were willing to enter CEP again were coded "1," while those who were unwilling were coded "0." The mean for the variable indicates that approximately 75 percent of the individuals interviewed were satisfied with the program and would be willing to repeat it. Similarly, the mean for the variable "attitudes toward pay in CEP," 1.92, indicates that the average respondent considered the amount paid by the CEP slightly less than satisfactory. Other variables (such as age, expected earnings, number of dependents) are expressed in the usual manner.

The standard deviation of the variables is reported in the fourth column of Table 8-11. This statistic indicates variability in the measures. Since absolute variability is not always very informative, one might want to consider relative variability. A convenient tool for measuring relative variability is given by the coefficient of variation (C.V.), which is defined as the standard deviation divided by the mean multiplied by 100. The coefficient of variation is given in the fifth column. Note, however, that it is meaningful only where variables are in continuous form--in which case a high C.V. indicates a relatively large dispersion of observations, relative to the mean. When variables are dichotomous, C.V. does not provide any new information--once the mean is known.[3]

The probability that a former CEP participant would be employed following his participation in the program was hypothesized to depend on the following classes of variables: (1) individual attitudes toward CEP; (2) experience in CEP; (3) classification of participants as completers versus dropouts; and (4) demographic variables. The variables within each group are listed in Table 8-11. In general, the equation is

probability of employment = f(attitude, experiences,
classification, demographic
status)

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[3] Suppose a variable is defined by 1 when a given characteristic exists, and by 0 otherwise. Then the mean is given by P, the population of observations with the given characteristic. The standard deviation is given by $\sqrt{P(1-P)}$. Thus, C.V. = $\sqrt{P(1-P)}/P = \sqrt{(1-P)}/P$. If $P = 0.1$, $\sqrt{P(1-P)} = \sqrt{.09} = .3$, and C.V. = $\frac{.3}{.1} = 3$. The variable can be redefined such that it will be 0 when the characteristic exists and 1 otherwise. Then $P = 0.1$, $\sqrt{P(1-P)} = .3$, and C.V. = $\frac{.3}{.1} = \frac{1}{3}$. In the first case (P=.1) 10 percent of the observations have the value 1 and 90 percent have the value 0. When P = .9, 10 percent have the actual value 0 and 90 percent the value 1. In that sense, the relative variation in the first case (P=.1) is greater than in the second case. But from P itself we already know what proportion of the sample has value 1 and what proportion has the value 0.

The exact form which this formula should take is not clear, a priori. It is assumed that each variable in the formula is linearly related to the probability of employment. Since any implications that might be drawn from the results apply only in the margin, the assumption of linearity seems to be plausible. For example, if it were found that the two-week orientation program was positively associated with employment--other things being equal--the conclusion is that an expansion of the orientation program is one way in which increased employment might be achieved. But any expansion must be small. A large expansion may or may not be warranted, depending on the information to be gathered once the expansion of the orientation phase begins. Moreover, the cost of expanding the orientation program may exceed the cost of achieving the same end through other means.

The Results. Table 8-12 contains the results of the regression analysis for probability of employment soon after leaving CEP. The groups of variables were run simultaneously with all other groups (column I) as well as separately (columns II through V). The separate runs were conducted to illustrate the possible bias in the coefficients resulting when other variables are not included in the analysis. For example, using regression IV in Table 8-12, it is observed that the probability of employment is positively and significantly associated with the variable representing CEP completion (in contrast to dropping out). In fact, the equation indicates that a completer has about a 35 percent greater chance of being employed than an ex ante, and as much as a 25 percent greater chance of being employed than a dropout. By itself, this would appear to be a vindication of the assertion that the CEP promotes the employability of its clientele, particularly the completers. However, when other variables are taken into account (column I) the effect of completion is reduced to a 10 percent greater chance than dropouts (because of lack of CEP data there are no ex antes in the total regression); further, this result is not statistically significant (even at the .10 level). In other cases, however, the results obtained by regressing only one group of variables on the dependent variable result in negligible or no change in the statistically significant coefficients.

Five variables were found to be statistically significant determinants at the .10 level. This level, of course, maximizes the opportunity for chance, not real, difference to occur. These variables are mentioned because they are suggestive of the manner in which CEP may affect participants. Participants who reported they got what they wanted from CEP had about a 20 percent greater chance of being employed soon after leaving the program. Also, those participants who had regular coaches appear to have had a 17 percent greater probability of employment at that time. Individuals referred to jobs by CEP but who did not take them had a 20 percent smaller chance of being employed. And an extra week of current unemployment was associated with a reduction in the probability of employment of about one-half of 1 percent. The variable with the greatest chance of being found significant in another study was sex. Males were much less likely to be employed (.01 level of significance).

The full regression "explains" only 15 percent of the variation in the probability of employment. But $\bar{R}^2$ is significant at the 5 percent level; moreover, a number of individual variables were found to be statistically significant. Finally, it is anticipated that much random variation will occur in

Table 8-12

Factors Affecting the Probability of Employment Two Weeks after Separation from CEP

Variable	Regression Coefficients I Total	II Attitude	III Experiences	IV Classification	V Socio-economic
(Attitude)					
Well paid	.0426	-.0089			
Able to get along	.0311	.0252			
Got what wanted	.1959	.1660*			
Willing to go again	.0038	.0087			
Expected pay, now	.0010	.0003			
Expected pay, future	.0007	.0004			
(Experiences)					
Two-week program	-.0810		-.0474		
Employment Service counselor	.0285		.0049		
Regular coach	.1670		.0929		
Supportive service	-.0469		.1006		
Problems with CEP	-.1287		-.0008		
Pay problems	.1577		.1394		
Transportation problem	.2330		.0100		
Didn't take job referred	-.2029		-.1617		
(Classification)					
Completer	.1043			.3769**	
Dropout	--			.0852	
(Demographic)					
Age	.0023				-.0024
Sex	-.3158**				-.2239
Handicap	.1288				.0450
Marital status	.0384				.0949
Number of dependents	.0538				.0685*
Race	.5257				.0632
Public assistance	-.0633				-.0153
School completed	.0046				.0074
Other federal programs	.0953				.0586
Years of employment					
1-2[a]	-.1174				.0215
3-9	.1103				.0911
10+	.0082				.0977
Estimated hourly earning	.0329				-.0498
Estimated income	-.0001				.0000
Weeks unemployed	-.0047				-.0034
N	135	184	186	313	164
$\bar{R}^2$	.1534	.0031	-.0006	.12336	.0586
F	1.8097*	1.094	.9860	22.99**	1.6767*

[a] Less than one year entered the constant term.

*Significant at the .05 level(two-tail test).

**Significant at the .01 level (two-tail test).

such variables, so that the explanatory power of the model should not be expected to be great.

An additional hypothesis tested was that each group of variables contributes significantly to the explanation of the probability of employment. In statistical terms, let the variables in the first group be given by X_1, X_2, ..., X_{k_1}. Then the null hypothesis is that the regression coefficients b_1, b_2, ..., b_{k_1} are all equal to zero. The null hypothesis is rejected when the test statistic is greater than a value corresponding to a probability level of 5 percent.[4] The only class of variables for which the null hypothesis was rejected is the socioeconomic set. In all other cases the test statistic was too small to reject the null hypothesis. The implication of this is that, as a group, only the socioeconomic variables contribute significantly toward the explanation of variation in the probability of employment soon after separation from CEP. But, as noted above, single variables in other groups also appear to be significantly associated with the probability of employment.

Because being male was associated with not being employed, and because about three-fourths of the CEP participants were male, a separate regression on probability of employment was run for males alone. The F-ratio for the total equation failed to reach significance, and thus any coefficients for the separate variables are highly tentative. In general, however, the pattern was similar to that reported in Table 8-12.

These analyses suggest that while CEP completion by itself is not related to employment soon after the program, some experiences in CEP and attitudes toward these experiences are important. The most significant of these appear to be having had a coach while in CEP and having accepted jobs that one was referred to by CEP. The negative sign on the coefficient for the variable "didn't take job referred" indicates that participants who did not take or stay with CEP-referred jobs tended to be unemployed. The attitudinal variable "got what wanted" appears to be as much a result of being employed as a likely cause.

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[4] The test statistic employed here is given by

$$F^{k^1}_{n-k} = \frac{\dfrac{\text{SSR (full)} - \text{SSR (reduced)}}{k^1}}{\text{MSE (full)}}$$

Where:

K = number of variables in the complete regression model (column I)

$_k1$ = number of variables in the group of variables being tested

n = number of observations in the sample

(continued on next page)

The fact that "didn't take job referred" and "got what wanted" were both marginally (.10 level) significant suggests that attitudinal differences among participants about the kinds of jobs that CEP could make available might have been a basic factor underlying the effects of CEP. In other words, participants who were successful in CEP appeared to regard the jobs it could make available as being more attractive than did the unsuccessful participants. Unfortunately, there is no evidence of differences in aspirations among the successful and unsuccessful participants. Whatever differences existed were not detected by the various questions concerning job desires and income expectations. These questions showed few consistent differences among the various groups of respondents.

Employment During the Entire Follow-up Period

The data shown in Table 8-13 on employment stability for the entire follow-up interval are somewhat contradictory. Completers held more jobs than dropouts, which would indicate less stability in any one job for the completers. However, completers were employed for a greater percentage of the time after CEP than were dropouts, which indicates that mobility was associated with total employment.

Approximately half of the completers, two-thirds of the dropouts, and three-fourths of the co-workers held only one job after CEP; few individuals held more than three jobs. There may have been a tendency to not report, or simply forget, jobs which were held for only short periods of time. Even so, the CEP participants apparently do not fit the stereotype of the hard-core unemployed which has them frequently changing jobs.

In the regression analysis of employment stability which is to be discussed below, number of jobs was found to be positively related to percentage of time employed. This relation held only for dropouts; among completers the average percentage of time employed was the same for those who had held one job as for those who had had more than one. Among participants who had only one job completers were employed for a greater percentage of

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(Continued)

SSR (full) = regression sum of squares for the full model

SSR (reduced) = regression sum of squares for a regression in which all k except the k^{I} independent variables are included

MSE (full) = mean square error for the full regression

Note that the F values in Table 8-12 were not calculated using this statistic. This special form of the F test was used only for testing the independent significance of the groups of variables.

Table 8-13

Number of Jobs, Months Employed, and Percentage of Time Employed for Completers, Dropouts, and Co-workers

	Completer	Dropout	Co-worker
Number of jobs	1.7	1.5	1.3
Months employed (total)	6.6	5.4	9.6
Percentage of time employed (total)	61.1	48.0	87.6
Percentage employed constantly	14	12	68
Number responding	228	113	142
Months employed (CEP jobs only)	5.2	--	--
Percentage of time employed (CEP jobs only)	51.1	--	--
Number responding	205	--	--

time than dropouts, but for those who had held more than one job, there was no difference between completers and dropouts. In terms of months worked and percentage of time employed, completers had better employment records than dropouts. Co-workers were superior to both participant groups.

Approximately half of the completers and two-thirds of the dropouts were employed for six months or less. Months employed could vary, however, as the length of the interval from last contact with CEP to the interview varied among subjects. To correct for this the percentage of time employed, which compares months of employment to months available for employment, was calculated. Months were used as the basic unit because this was the way most respondents reported their job histories. Adjustments were made for part-time jobs (less than 30 hours per week) and for jobs that were reported as held for short periods to yield the equivalent of months of full-time employment. The difference between completers and dropouts is much less than that between co-workers and participants. While co-workers were employed 88 percent of the time during this interval, completers were employed 61 percent and dropouts only 48 percent of the time. During the interval from CEP to the follow-up interview, completers were employed in CEP-obtained jobs for 51 percent of the entire period, and for 74 percent of their total employed time. Obviously, completers spent more time at CEP-obtained jobs than in positions obtained through other sources.

The overall employment record for the participants is somewhat encouraging. During the twelve months prior to CEP, completers had been employed for an average of 42 percent of the time, and dropouts for 37 percent of the time. Apparently the CEP experience did improve their records to some extent.

Regression Analysis of Total Post-CEP Employment. Just as a multiple regression equation analyzed employment immediately following CEP, a similar analysis was conducted on indices calculated from the total job histories that were obtained in the follow-up interview. All the variables to be used in the multiple regression analysis were put into either a continuous or dummy (categorical) format so that they could be intercorrelated. The codes employed for these variables and their means and standard deviations are presented in Table 8-14. (Most of these variables have already been discussed in the report and will not be described further.) As is usual for correlational analysis the preparation of the data required that the respondents with missing answers on any of the variables be eliminated. This resulted in a reduction of the usable sample to 230 respondents.

The dependent variables analyzed by the independent variables in Table 8-14 were percentage of time employed, employment status when interviewed (employed or unemployed), and total earnings following CEP. Percentage of time employed was defined by the number of months employed divided by the number of months available for employment. Total earnings following CEP were calculated by multiplying average hourly wage (average of the starting and leaving wages), times hours worked per month, times months worked in each job held, and summing for all jobs held. The results of the regression analysis of the three variables are shown in Table 8-15.

Since the basic nature of multiple regression yields the best possible fit of the independent variables to the dependent variable, one should be cautious in interpreting the significance of any one particular variable. In each of the equations in Table 8-15 twenty-six independent variables plus the constant (intercept) term or twenty-seven parameters are estimated. It is to be expected that purely by chance one or two coefficients would be significant at the .05 level in each equation. For this reason the strongest emphasis in the following interpretation of the results is put on the independent variables that are significant in more than one equation.

One variable is significant in all three equations, the variable for the CEP orientation program. The coefficient is negative, indicating that participants who attended the program were employed a smaller percentage of time, were likely to be unemployed when interviewed, and earned less. The obvious interpretation of these results is that taking part in the orientation program caused people to be less employable. A less obvious but more accurate interpretation is that CEP sent the less employable through the orientation program. During intake processing a judgment was made on each applicant as to whether he was "job ready." If he was judged capable of obtaining a job, he

Table 8-14

Basic Information for Multiple Regression Analysis of All Post-CEP Employment

Independent Variables	Code	Participants	
		Mean	S.D.
Individual characteristics			
Sex	1=female; 0=male	.20	.40
Age	Actual years	26.9	9.4
High school graduate	1=yes; 0=no	.36	.48
Number of dependents	Actual number	2.39	1.71
Marital status	1=married; 0=other	.34	.47
Public assistance recipient	1=yes; 0=no	.17	.38
Police record	1=yes; 0=no	.35	.48
Years of prior employment			
1 to 2 [a]	1=yes; 0=other	.30	.46
3 to 9	1=yes; 0=other	.31	.46
10 or more	1=yes; 0=other	.21	.41
12 months prior to CEP			
Estimated earning	$	1538.1	942.4
Estimated weeks unemployed	Actual weeks	27.6	15.0
Work attitude score	Actual score	84.0	13.8
Internal-external control	Actual score	12.2	1.5
Interviewer ratings:			
Work attitude	3-point rating	1.47	.72
Internal-external control	3-point rating	1.79	.83
Overall attitude toward chances in life	3-point rating	1.53	.68
CEP Experiences			
Attended orientation	1=yes; 0=no	.72	.45
Completed CEP program	1=yes; 0=no	.70	.46
Placed in a job	1=yes; 0=no	.77	.42
Follow-up contact	1=yes; 0=no	.49	.50
Information on Jobs:			
Number held	Actual number	1.65	.86
Mean socioeconomic index	Scale score	22.0	13.1
Mean hours worked	Actual hours	40.6	5.7
Mean hourly wage	$	2.41	.65
Months to interview	Actual months	10.8	2.6
Number of observations		230	

[a] Less than one year entered the intercept.

Table 8-15

Multiple Regression Analysis of All Post-CEP Employment: Percentage of Time Employed, Employment Status, and Total Earnings

Independent Variables	% Time		Status		Earnings	
	Coeff.[a]	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.
Individual Characteristics						
Sex: Male	I[a]	I	I	I	I	I
Female	13.72*	6.57	.26*	.10	140.38	453.81
Age	-.11	.37	.01	.01	17.13	25.51
High school graduate	-4.65	4.44	-.07	.07	194.22	306.62
Number of dependents	-.83	1.50	.01	.02	-76.35	104.05
Marital status	-2.90	4.86	.02	.08	.58	336.05
Public assistance recipient	5.13	6.34	-.03	.10	1104.65*	437.94
Police record	-1.49	4.55	-.01	.07	253.27	314.39
Years of prior employment						
1 to 2	-3.50	6.14	-.11	.10	-336.20	424.49
3 to 9	7.12	6.95	-.21	.11	100.13	480.29
10 or more	12.95	10.30	-.32*	.16	394.89	711.91
12 months prior to CEP:						
Estimated earning	.00	.00	.00	.00	.48*	.19
Estimated weeks unemployed	-.12	.15	-.00	.00	-7.16	10.35
Work attitude score	-.13	.16	-.00	.00	-10.13	10.74
Internal-external control	-.86	1.37	-.00	.02	-75.99	94.86
Interviewer ratings						
Work attitude	-1.69	3.36	-.02	.05	177.73	232.30
Internal-external control	-2.88	3.73	-.08	.05	-402.50	257.82
Overall attitude toward chances in life	-5.42	4.12	-.19**	.06	112.89	284.88
CEP Experiences						
Attended orientation	-13.00**	4.59	-.14*	.07	-616.94*	317.37
Completed CEP program	10.63	6.30	.20*	.10	794.79	435.36
Placed in a job	-6.72	7.03	-.16	.11	-658.84	485.80
Follow-up contact	3.31	4.44	-.04	.07	238.53	306.77
Information on Jobs						
Number held	6.20*	2.48	.07	.04	167.40	171.79
Mean socioeconomic index	.10	.17	-.00	.00	9.03	11.70
Mean hours worked	.22	.37	.00	.01	52.47*	2.04
Mean hourly wage	2.21	3.37	.01	.05	1062.82**	233.16
Months to interview	-2.28**	.82	-.01	.01	119.64	56.79
Intercept	96.75**	31.00	1.29**	.48	-2556.32	2141.38
Dependent Variable Mean	57.74		.57		2776.77	
Standard deviation	31.13		.50		2263.28	
Multiple $\overline{R}$[b]	.35		.40		.45	
Explained variance ($\overline{R}^2$)	.12		.16		.21	
Number of observations	230		230		230	

[a] Coeff. = Net regression coefficient, S.E. = standard error, I = in intercept.

[b] Corrected for degrees of freedom.

*Significant .05 level (two-tail test).

**Significant .01 level (two-tail test).

was referred directly to one. The less employable were sent to the orientation program for training designed to enhance their attractiveness to employers. The negative coefficients indicate that this training did not bring those who received it to the same level of employability as that of the participants who were referred directly to jobs.

The sex variable is significant for two of the three equations. Females were employed a larger proportion of time and were more likely to be employed when interviewed. At least part of the reason that females did not have higher total earnings was due to their lower average wage rate (males = $2.45 per hour, females = $2.28 per hour). It was indicated that right after their participation in CEP, females were more likely to be employed. The results from the longer follow-up confirms this early finding. Over the eleven-month period sex had the largest net regression on proportion of time employed of any of the variables in the equation.

All of the other significant coefficients occurred for only one of the dependent variables. Some of them are due to the manner in which the equations were constructed. For example, the number of months between first contact with CEP and the follow-up interview had a significant negative coefficient for percentage of time employed. This indicates that respondents who were in the labor market longer tended to be employed a somewhat smaller percentage of the time they were available for employment (all other factors held constant). Similarly, respondents who, on the average, worked longer hours and who received higher wages earned more total income. One paradoxical finding is that respondents who had been receiving public welfare when they entered CEP had earned more total income when interviewed at follow-up. The variable of total earnings was based on information obtained in the job histories and did not include transfer payments. Some of the welfare recipients, however, may have included their welfare supplements in their reports of earned income.

Plausible explanations could be developed for the other significant coefficients, but they would add little to an understanding of the effects of CEP on the job adjustment of the hard-to-employ. Two major findings stand out from these equations: the orientation program did not raise the employability of its trainees to the level of the participants who were judged "job ready"; and females were more stably employed following CEP than males.

Retention on Most Recent Jobs

To some extent, examining the total employment experience of the participants over the follow-up period tends to obscure the importance of certain variables which have substantial influence at certain times but may be lost, "on the average," when considering total employment. One of the reasons for collecting additional data on the most recent jobs held by the respondents at follow-up was to tap some of these variables with immediacy and specificity--to afford a cross-sectional look at the respondents a substantial time after their separation from CEP and with almost a year's experience in the labor market.

In this section all the major data on the respondents and their most recently held jobs are brought together for multiple regression analysis. These data were somewhat more complete than those for total employment, and 306 former participants were included in the analyses. The variables that entered the equation used for the following analyses are shown in Table 8-16. As explained for previous regressions, several of the variables were converted to a dummy or categorical format.

The eight factors pertaining to the most recent jobs which were identified by the factor analyses presented in Chapter 7 were converted to factor scores. This process involved complex operations in matrix algebra which yielded individual scores on each of the eight factors for all the respondents. These scores were calculated so that the mean for each factor was 50 and the standard deviation was 10. They were also calculated so that each factor was independent of the others; that is, there was no intercorrelation among them. The scores reflect all the information from the original 33 variables that can be accounted for by the 8 factors that were extracted from these variables. Factor scores were used in the multiple regression instead of the original variables because they permitted a savings of 25 degrees of freedom; the smaller number made the results easier to interpret.

Unfortunately, after all the work that went into identifying the basic factors underlying the measures of job climate, these factors accounted for practically none of the variance in the measures of retention in most recent jobs. The measures of retention that were analyzed were employment status (employed or unemployed) and months employed in most recent jobs. (The correlations between these two variables were .42 for participants and .38 for co-workers.) The results of these analyses are shown in Tables 8-17 and 8-18. The only variables with significant regression on the dependent variables in both of these tables are starting and leaving wages for the former CEP participants, and hours worked for the co-workers. CEP placement was significant for both dependent variables, but for employment status the coefficient was negative, indicating placement was associated with not being employed. For months of employment the relationship was positive, indicating placement was associated with more months of employment. These reverse signs simply show that participants who had left the jobs they received through CEP and found others tended to have fewer months of employment in the new jobs. Participants who had not found other jobs on their own were, of course, more likely to be unemployed.

The importance of wage rates in the retention of former participants deserves special comment. The regression coefficients were negative for starting wages and positive for current (or leaving) wages for both dependent variables. These coefficients mean that high starting wages were associated with being unemployed and working few months; high current wages were associated with being employed and working more months. These results seem contradictory but a plausible explanation suggests itself. It seems likely that companies that offered high starting wages would be more likely to terminate workers who did not perform satisfactorily, especially marginal workers such as the CEP would refer. It is somewhat surprising that starting and current wages were both found to have independent effects on the dependent variable when they, themselves, correlate very highly (*r* = .95). Nevertheless,

Table 8-16

Basic Information on Variables Used in Multiple Regression Analysis of Most Recently Held Jobs, Participants and Co-workers

Independent Variable	Code	Participants		Co-workers	
		Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Individual Characteristics					
Sex	1=female, 0=male	.26	.44	.43	.50
Age	Actual years	27.5	10.2	31.8	11.2
High school graduate	1=yes; 0=no	.35	.48	.60	.49
Number of dependents	Actual number	2.28	1.69	2.70	1.98
Work attitude score	Actual score	85.0	12.5	86.9	9.5
Interviewer ratings:					
Work attitude	3-point rating	1.47	.72	1.17	.48
Internal-external control	3-point rating	1.83	.85	1.42	.68
CEP Experiences					
Attended orientation	1=yes; 0=no	.70	.46	NA[a]	
Completed CEP program	1=yes; 0=no	.67	.47	NA	
Placed in most recent job	1=yes; 0=no	.45	.50	NA	
Things learned at CEP helpful	1=yes; 0=no	.26	.44	NA	
Information on Jobs					
Industrial classification					
Manufacturing	1=yes; 0=no	.45	.50	.40	.49
Service	1=yes; 0=no	.27	.44	.31	.46
Trade, finance, gov't	1=yes; 0=no	.16	.36	.19	.39
Const., transp., other	1=yes; 0=no	I[a]	I	I	I
DOT classification:					
Professional, clerical sales	1=yes; 0=no	.13	.34	.19	.39
Service	1-yes; 0=no	.28	.45	.31	.46
Processing, machine, benchwork	1=yes; 0=no	.35	.48	.34	.48
Structural	1=yes; 0=no	.12	.33	.08	.28
Farming, other	1=yes; 0=no	I	I	I	I
Hours worked	Actual hours	40.4	7.3	40.0	5.0
Wages: Starting	$	2.28	.61	2.20	.78
Current (leaving)	$	2.39	.66	2.70	.84
Socioeconomic index of job	Scale score	21.4	14.1	26.0	16.3
Reason for leaving job:					
Still employed	1=yes; 0=no	.59	.49	.85	.35
Company action	1=yes; 0=no	.13	.34	.02	.15
Personal reason unrelated to job	1=yes; 0=no	.19	.39	.08	.26
Problem with job	1=yes; 0=no	I	I	I	I
Reactions to Job					
Overall like-dislike	3-point rating	1.43	.75	1.28	.61
Factor scores were converted to a standardized form, each with a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10		306		131	

[a] NA = not applicable, I = in intercept.

Table 8-17

Multiple Regression Analysis of Employed-Unemployed Status
in Most Recently Held Jobs, Participants and Co-workers

	Participants		Co-workers	
Independent Variables	Coeff.[a]	S.E.	Coeff.[a]	S.E.
Individual Characteristics				
Sex: Male	I[a]	I	I	I
Female	.12	.07	-.05	.07
Age	-.00	.00	.00	.00
High school graduate	-.05	.06	.09	.06
Number of dependents	.01	.02	-.01	.02
Work attitude score	-.00	.00	-.00	.00
Interviewer ratings:				
Work attitude	-.06	.05	.02	.07
Internal-external control	-.11**	.04	-.04	.05
CEP Experiences				
Attended orientation	-.08	.06	NA[a]	
Completed CEP program	.20**	.07	NA	
Placed in most recent job	-.13*	.07	NA	
Things learned at CEP helpful	.05	.06	NA	
Information on Jobs				
Industrial classification:				
Manufacturing	-.06	.09	-.03	.11
Service	-.03	.12	-.06	.15
Trade, finance, government	.12	.12	-.04	.15
Construction, transportation, other	I	I	I	I
DOT classification				
Professional, clerical, sales	-.08	.13	-.05	.14
Service	-.05	.11	-.04	.14
Processing, machine, benchwork	.06	.10	.05	.14
Structural	-.03	.12	.13	.16
Farming, other	I	I	I	I
Hours worked	-.00	.00	.02**	.01
Wages: Starting	-.35*	.14	-.03	.06
Current (Leaving)	.28*	.13	.05	.06
Socioeconomic index of job	-.00	.00	.01	.00
Reactions to Job				
Overall like-dislike	-.05	.04	-.09	.06
Factor scores:				
General satisfaction	.00	.00	.00	.00
Own performance	-.00	.00	-.00	.00
Co-workers	.00	.00	-.00	.00
Working conditions	.00	.00	.00	.00
Supervision	.00	.00	NA	
Supervisor support	NA		-.00	.00
Supervisor pressure	NA		-.00	.00
Effort (advancement-security)[b]	.01*	.00	-.00	.00
Pay (advancement-security)	-.00	.00	-.00	.00
Advancement-security	.00**	.00	NA	
Intercept	.64	.56	.67	.74
Dependent Variable: Mean	.61		.89	
Standard Deviation	.49		.32	
Multiple $\bar{R}$[c]	.38**		.25	
Explained variance ($\bar{R}^2$)	.14		.06	
Number of observations	306		131	

[a] Coeff. = net regression coefficient, SE = standard error, I = in intercept, NA = not applicable.

[b] The factor scores for participants refer to area outside parentheses only. The factor scores for co-workers refer to all areas listed.

[c] Corrected for degrees of freedom.

*Significant .05 level; **significant .01 level (two-tail test).

Table 8-18

Multiple Regression Analysis of Months Employed in Most Recently Held Jobs, Participants and Co-workers

Independent Variables	Participants		Co-workers	
	Coeff.[a]	S.E.	Coeff.[a]	S.E.
Individual Characteristics				
Sex: Male	I[a]	I	I	I
Female	1.41**	.49	-.29	.78
Age	.02	.02	.07*	.03
High school graduate	-.57	.41	.13	.69
Number of dependents	-.10	.12	.10	.16
Work attitude score	.00	.02	-.07*	.04
Interviewer ratings:				
Work attitude	-.48	.31	-1.94**	.72
Internal-external control	-.04	.27	-1.21*	.50
CEP Experiences				
Attended orientation	-.40	.41	NA[a]	
Completed CEP program	-.03	.45	NA	
Placed in most recent job	1.26**	.45	NA	
Things learned at CEP helpful	.07	.43	NA	
Information on Jobs				
Industrial classification:				
Manufacturing	-.82	.64	-1.51	1.19
Service	.26	.78	.29	1.51
Trade, finance, government	.33	.85	.40	1.56
Construction, transportation, other	I	I	I	I
DOT classification:				
Professional, clerical, sales	-1.56	.91	-3.46*	1.46
Service	-1.86*	.77	-2.76	1.48
Processing, machine, benchwork	.06	.69	-.30	1.42
Structural	-1.19	.79	-.58	1.68
Farming, other	I	I	I	I
Hours worked	.05*	.03	.20**	.07
Wages: Starting	-6.02**	.96	-.66	.65
Current (Leaving)	5.85**	.91	.65	.63
Reactions to Job				
Overall like-dislike	-.60*	.30	-1.04	.59
Factor scores:				
General satisfaction	.01	.02	.03	.04
Own performance	-.02	.02	.00	.03
Co-workers	.00	.02	-.05	.03
Working conditions	.03	.02	-.01	.03
Supervision	.02	.03	NA	
Supervisor support	NA		.00	.03
Supervisor pressure	NA		-.04	.03
Effort (advancement-security)[a]	-.02	.02	.00	.03
Pay (advancement-security)[b]	-.02	.02	-.03	.03
Advancement-security	.02	.02	NA	
Intercept	3.65	3.85	15.65*	7.67
Dependent variable: Mean	4.86		8.24	
Standard Deviation	3.62		3.81	
Multiple $\bar{R}^c$	.52**		.53**	
Explained variance ($\bar{R}^2$)	.27		.29	
Number of observations	306		131	

[a] Coeff. = net regression coefficient, SE = standard error, I = in intercept, NA = not applicable.

[b] The factor scores for participants refer to area outside parentheses only. The factor scores for co-workers refer to all areas listed.

[c] Corrected for degrees of freedom.

*Significant .05 level; **significant .01 level (two-tail test).

when their net effects were analyzed separately, holding the effects of all other variables in the equation constant, they were found to have independent effects. The implications of these results are clear: of all the data on most recent jobs that were analyzed, the most important influences on job retention were wage rates. A moderate starting rate and fairly rapid increases appeared to be the best way to enhance retention.

Having said this, however, it is necessary to discuss the discrepancies between this finding and some of the results presented at other points in the report. The analysis of total post-CEP employment as reflected in months employed, percentage of time employed, and employment status did not have significant regression on average hourly wage. Since about 60 percent of the respondents had only one job after CEP, the most recent job was also the total employment. For these respondents the dependent variables of months employed and employment status were identical for total employment and most recent jobs. With this amount of overlap, it seemed highly likely that the same independent variables would be significant.

The failure to find significant regression for the wage variable on total employment appears to be due to the difference in the way wages were coded for the total employment analyses. For these analyses an average hourly wage was calculated for all months worked using the following formula:

$$AHW = \frac{\Sigma \frac{SW + LW}{2} \times MW}{\Sigma MW}$$

where: AHW = average hourly wage
SW = starting wage
LW = leaving (or current) wage
MW = months worked

As the formula indicates, the average reflects the starting and leaving wage in each job held and the number of months the job was held. These arithmetic manipulations tended to minimize the simple correlation between wages and the measures of retention. For example, the zero order correlation between leaving wages and months employed in most recent job was .17. The correlation between average hourly wage and total months employed was .09. These are not major differences, but in the multiple regression where the effects of all other variables are held constant they seem to be magnified. It will be recalled also that in the analysis of most recent jobs the signs on the regression coefficients for starting and leaving wages were opposite--high starting wages were associated with shorter retention and high leaving wages with longer retention. The statistical relationships of the independent with the dependent variables are reversed. Averaging the starting and leaving wages may have obscured the independent effects of each. Therefore, despite the discrepancy between the results for total employment and for most recent jobs, the conclusion as to the importance of wages in retention still appears to be valid.

The apparent importance of the job climate measures (the twenty-eight ratings and five JDI scores discussed in Chapter 7) on retention also failed to be confirmed by the multiple regression analysis. In the other analyses, supervision was clearly identified as related to employment. The employed respondents rated their supervisors more favorably than did the unemployed. The factor analyses of the job climate measures indicated a clear difference in the perceptions of supervision between the employed and unemployed. These differences, however, were not reflected in the multiple regression equations. The eight factor scores explained practically none of the variance in the dependent variables, and the supervision factors never approached significance. To test whether converting the actual ratings to factor scores might have obscured some of the relationship with retention, some regressions were run using the actual ratings. These too failed to have significant regression on the dependent variables.

If, despite this negative evidence, one still feels that attitudinal reactions to the job play a major role in retention, it is possible to dismiss these negative results by stating that the measures of job climate were deficient. This argument could be supported by citing the lack of agreement among the three groups of respondents. The matched groups of participants, co-workers, and supervisors had low correlations in their ratings of the most objective aspects of the jobs. Nevertheless, there was considerable agreement within groups and across methods. That is, the comparisons of the ratings of the five job features that were also measured by the JDI yielded fairly substantial correlations (median r = .59 for participants and .63 for co-workers). The magnitude of these cross-method correlations demonstrated that the different techniques were tapping the variables they were intended to measure. The patterns of intercorrelations identified by the factor analysis also indicated a coherent internal structure among the ratings.

It is always possible to argue that more precise measures of the job climate might have revealed higher association with retention, but the present results do not encourage such a contention. In light of these results the more likely conclusion is that attitudinal responses have less influence on retention than wages and certain individual predispositions that are reflected in sex and the completion of CEP participation.

Throughout this discussion little mention has been made of the results of the regressions on co-workers. The major difference between the co-workers and the participants was the failure to find significance for wage rates among the former. This suggests that for workers who have experienced more regular employment, wage rates are not as influential as they are to more peripheral workers. Hours of employment, however, were significant for both co-worker indices of retention. This appears to reflect a very logical assessment of options. Slight differences in rates of pay have comparatively less influence on total income than does the opportunity to work extra hours. For example, the difference in weekly earnings between a \$2.25 and a \$2.50 hourly wage rate is only \$10.00 per week for 40 hours of work. The difference between 40 and 50 hours of work at \$2.25 per hour is \$22.50 at regular rates. If the worker earns time and one-half for overtime, earnings for the extra 10 hours are \$33.75. Thus a job which offers the opportunity for more hours can have significant impact on a worker's income if he is willing to sacrifice some of his leisure. The co-workers seemed to be willing to make this trade-off. For the analysis of months employed, hours of work was also significant for the participants.

All of these results thus underscore the importance of earnings on job retention. While they are not as fully consistent as one would wish, in total they present a strong case that the best way to enhance job retention for the marginal worker is to increase the amount he is able to earn on the job.

SUMMARY

This chapter has examined the total employment experiences of former participants between the time of their separation from CEP and the follow-up interviews nine to ten months later. The participants have been compared, where appropriate, by completion, job placement, and employment status at follow-up, and have been compared to groups of non-CEP participants, both ex antes and co-workers.

The jobs held and the quality and stability which these jobs provided have been analyzed in a number of ways. The most salient findings in terms of the effects of a CEP program on the later employability of marginal workers such as those found in the target population are summarized below.

The net effect of CEP completion was the greater likelihood that participants would be placed in jobs (often production) which were somewhat different from those they would find through other channels. These jobs were no higher in socioeconomic status or training potential than the others, but they seem to have offered better pay. Completers were employed somewhat more during the post-CEP interval than dropouts, but their earnings and job stability were not as good as those of their co-workers. The sooner a participant was placed (or found employment), the more likely he was to have better wages and greater job stability during follow-up.

Regression analyses suggested that these effects were more clearly related to certain characteristics of the CEP program than to completion itself. These characteristics included having a regular coach while participating in the program, optimism that CEP could provide what the participant desired, and having accepted CEP-referred jobs. Females were more likely than males to have completed the program, to have been placed, and to have enjoyed greater employment stability. The employment factor contributing most strongly to job retention (especially on the most recently or currently held job at follow-up) was high current wages. If the proof of the pudding is in the eating, the essence of a good job to these respondents--personal characteristics and work attitudes notwithstanding--was in the paying.

The net effects of CEP completion on employment stability were good. Successful participants were employed longer and a bit more steadily on higher paying jobs than those who did not complete the program. The jobs provided by CEP placement were probably somewhat better on the whole than those which participants could have found on their own. This is not to conclude that CEP was totally successful in fulfilling its mission. The orientation program, for example, seems to have contributed little to later participant employability. Nevertheless, the overall impression yielded by the data is that the Columbus CEP did have impact on the employment of its participants.

Chapter 9

EXPERIENCES AND ATTITUDES OF EMPLOYERS

It is obvious that individual characteristics of the participants in a Concentrated Employment Program and the relative merits of the program itself should be important determinants of its success in its main function, employment of the hard-to-employ. But it has already been stressed that the existence of adequate jobs appears to be one of the most significant requirements for success of the program. Consequently, it was decided to interview the employers in whose companies CEP enrollees were employed during the course of this investigation.

From a theoretical vantage point, there are numerous classes of factors that are expected to impinge on the success of the employment experience--when viewed from the employer's perspective. A useful classification has been suggested by Goodman (1969). The main categories are (1) external structure factors, (2) internal structure factors, (3) degree of commitment, and (4) program structure.

External Factors. In this category a number of factors external to the firm are considered. For example, the general economic conditions prevailing at the time the program takes place might seriously affect the potential success of the program. Other factors mentioned by Goodman are manpower resources available, availability of government funds, strictness of eligibility criteria, social unrest, and intergovernmental relations. Some of these will be discussed in greater detail in the second section of this chapter.

Internal Structure Factors. Among factors belonging to this set of variables, Goodman includes the following: union coverage, profitability of the firm, manpower needs of the firm, costliness of equipment, wage levels, skill requirements, location and size of company, hiring standards, and organizational climate. These will be discussed in the section entitled "Company Characteristics."

Degree of Commitment. While the degree of commitment appears to be a logical subset of program structure factors, Goodman gives this category special recognition. It is asserted that employers' attitudes toward such programs as CEP--manifested by such variables as the number of CEP hires employed, extent of involvement in the program, level and authority of the decision-maker, and other indices of employers' attitudes--are crucial in determining the potential success of these programs. Employers' attitudes will be discussed in the fourth section.

Program Structure. Finally, Goodman lists a number of factors that are related to the specific program under discussion. Typical questions to be asked are: How much effort is made to adjust CEP hires to the world of work? What are the procedures for grievance presentation? How effective and responsive is the decision-making unit? What types of training are the new hires receiving? What types of jobs are offered by the company to the disadvantaged? Is there a "buddy" system? Questions of this sort will be explored in the fifth section of the chapter.

Before these factors can be discussed adequately, it is essential that the meaning of "success" be established. Goodman, for example, implies a rather subjective definition of program success. The next section, therefore, explores three alternative definitions of program success.

MEASUREMENT OF THE PROGRAM'S SUCCESS

From the individual CEP enrollee's viewpoint, the program would appear to succeed if it resulted in employment in a satisfactory job. With respect to an employer, a program would seem successful when he can hire and retain workers with histories of unemployment. It is assumed, of course, that employers retain workers only when they are satisfied with their performance. To the extent that they are pressured to retain some workers--whom they would rather dismiss--by various political and economic means, it may well be that success from the standpoint of the employer will differ from what it might be when the record of employment and retention forms the sole criterion.

The data collected for this study permitted the construction of four indices of program success:

1. Number of CEP hires still employed at the time of interview as a proportion of total CEP hires.
2. Degree of turnover among CEP hires.
3. Difference between the turnover of CEP hires and that of regular employees.
4. Assessment of success as perceived by employers.

The first index, probably the most objective measure of success available, reflects the degree to which the firms successfully achieved a high degree of retention of CEP hires. The CEP turnover variable is an average of three turnover indices: the quit rate, the discharge rate, and the rate of layoffs. The degree to which indices 1 and 2 do not have a perfect inverse correlation (r = -1.0) reflects the degree to which the respondents' reports of numbers hired and retained differ from their estimates of the three turnover rates. In contrast, the third index measures the average of the differences between the CEP and regular employee rates for each of the turnover indices. As far as index 2 is concerned, lower turnover rates imply a higher degree of success in retaining the disadvantaged. A lower level of index 3, however, implies a smaller difference between the CEP and regular employee turnover rates. To the extent that the turnover rate of regular employees is set as a standard upon which one might judge the effectiveness of the program, this latter index would be highly appropriate. But when absolute standards, regardless of any others, are desired for CEP turnover rates, index 2 is more appropriate.

It should be noted that there is close correlation among the three "objective" indices. Table 9-1 presents the simple correlation coefficients describing the relationships among the indices. Note that while indices 2 and 3 are highly correlated (r = .85), the correlation between either index 2 or 3 and index 1 is both negative and somewhat smaller. The negative sign demonstrates that "retention" and "turnover" are opposite concepts.

Table 9-1

Simple Correlations among Success Indices*

	Index 1	Index 2	Index 3
Index 1	1.000	-0.719	-0.732
Index 2		1.000	0.851
Index 3			1.000

*N = 31

Index 4 measures the degree of success attributed to the program by the employers. Each employer was asked the following question: "Overall, how would you evaluate the operation and performance of CEP?" The answers to this question were rated according to the categories given in Table 9-2; on the whole, the responses were quite favorable.

An examination of the actual answers from which these ratings were coded indicates that employers who gave negative evaluations of CEP generally emphasized problems with referrals who were not suitable, did not work when hired, or quit jobs after a short time. A few of these employers expressed poor opinions of the program in general, noting, for example, "limited success as indicated by our experience in turnover of CEP referrals." Others apparently felt that CEP had a worthwhile purpose, and that its representatives were trying to do a good job, but that the referrals simply did not want to work. In a fairly typical comment, a respondent said, "CEP did its part. They sent us people, but they wouldn't work and they did not stay."

Table 9-2

Employers' Evaluations of CEP Performance

	Number of Firms	% of Total
Excellent	8	9.9
Good	21	25.9
Average	28	34.6
Not so good	15	18.5
Poor	5	6.2
No response	4	4.9
Total	81	100.0

Approximately 10 percent of the employers directly criticized the program, without mentioning the referrals. A few of these complained that there were too many different agencies trying to do the same job. Some expressed general dissatisfaction with the program, while others cited problems with particular representatives.

Many respondents noted that they were pleased with the quality of the referrals. Among the replies of those who were satisfied with the performance of CEP were references to the useful services supplied to the hard-core unemployed and to the participating employers. This attitude was well summarized by one respondent, who said, "CEP is a very important program because it provides a means of finding talents and abilities. It helps to build confidence in people who might otherwise feel frustrated and defeated."

As noted earlier, success from an objective standpoint is not necessarily identical to success as perceived by the employer; the data support this observation to some extent. In Table 9-3, none of the correlations is large, but the correlation coefficient between indices 1 and 4 is significant and has a sign which supports the contention that employers' perceptions correspond to the objective index, while there is only slight correlation between index 4 and indices 2 and 3. The low correlations of index 4 with the other three indices are at least partly attributable to the question on which index 4 was based. In answering this question, some respondents were primarily concerned with the performance of the CEP organization itself, making little or no reference to the hires. Index 4 could represent an overall view of the CEP's operation in Columbus as opposed to an evaluation of a company's success with several CEP referrals. Also, evluations were made on an ex post basis--that is, after the program had already been in operation for some time in the particular firm. This point will be stressed in the context of correlation analyses between index 4 and other factors.

In the following discussion, index 1 will be used as the primary success measure, although occasional reference will be made to index 4. At various points in the chapter observations made by the interviewers who gathered the data are cited. These observations were drawn from reports the interviewers wrote of overall impressions obtained from their contacts with the employers.

Table 9-3

Simple Correlation Coefficients
between Index 4 and Indices 1-3

	r	N
Index 1	0.305	40
Index 2	-0.031	69
Index 3	-0.172	55

EXTERNAL FACTORS

The success of a program designed to employ the disadvantaged would appear to depend to a large extent on forces external to both the employers and the disadvantaged whom the program seeks to employ. While such assertions have already been made in previous chapters, it may be instructive to review briefly some of the external factors that might influence the program's success from the employer's vantage point.

Availability of Manpower Resources

Eighty-one employers were asked the following question: "Did you have much difficulty recruiting suitable employees, other than CEP referrals, during the past year?" The responses were as follows: yes, 25; no, 38; no response (or missing data), 18. In other words, about 40 percent of the responding employers asserted that they had had difficulty in recruiting non-CEP workers. Intuitively, the more difficult it is to recruit non-CEP workers, the more potential success the CEP program would have. The conclusions of this study, however, indicate the reverse: those companies claiming difficulty in recruiting non-CEP workers were less likely than others to score high on the success index (the number of CEP hires still employed). This correlation ($\underline{r}$ = .31), moreover, cannot be dismissed on the premise that when other factors concerning the type of jobs offered, wage levels, etc., are taken into account such a phenomenon is likely to disappear. For, as is shown in Table 9-7, the regression coefficient of the variable "difficulty recruiting" is negative even when other variables are held constant.

It is not obvious that those firms which testified to difficulties in the labor market actually referred to external factors. Based upon what can be gleaned from the data, the firms that had greater difficulties recruiting non-CEP persons were also those that required individuals with more training. This is exemplified by the correlation between "difficulty recruiting" and the following variables: (1) "hiring standards require previous training" ($\underline{r}$ = .28), (2) "number of CEP referrals screened for each one hired" ($\underline{r}$ = .43), and (3) "cost of operations due to increased training" ($\underline{r}$ = .29). While the last two variables pertain to the CEP experience, it is quite possible that the extensive screening of employees and requirements of previous training due to high costs of training apply equally well to non-CEP hires. Further, these firms also tended to offer lower wages ($\underline{r}$ = -.29; the wage variable was a rating made by the employer). It follows that those firms which seemed to have difficulty recruiting non-CEP workers were often seeking trained workers but offering relatively low wages. Since wage levels and requirement of previous training are likely to loom large in the potential success of such companies in employing the disadvantaged, it should not be too surprising that a negative correlation between difficulty of recruitment and program success was obtained.

In addition, one of the interviewers noted in his report of general impressions gained during the interviews that shortage of workers was reported as a reason for taking part in CEP by almost every firm in the group at the bottom of the employment scale. Among these firms, turnover was usually high and absenteeism a constant problem, even among regular workers. As might be expected on this basis, retention of CEP hires was very poor for these firms.

To test the effect of general economic conditions--including employment possibilities--on the success of programs such as CEP would require a longitudinal study of employment during a period when significant changes in the labor market have taken place. Since this study focuses on a limited span when employment was fairly constant, it is not possible to extract such data from the information collected in Columbus.

Social Unrest and Other Factors

Several other external factors might influence the relative success of the program. It has often been asserted that a greater degree of social unrest, for obvious reasons, leads to a greater likelihood of program success. Again, this is true only to the extent that success is measured by one of the objective criteria described earlier, and this "success" may be rather short-lived (until social conditions change). This issue is discussed at greater length in the section "Degree of Commitment." To anticipate this discussion it can be noted that "social conditions" was the most frequently cited reason for employing CEP referrals.

Other factors, external to the employer, that might affect program success include the availability of government funds for training, general relations between various government bodies and business firms, intergovernmental relations (e.g., forms of grants-in-aid), and formal eligibility criteria imposed on the program under investigation. As in the case of manpower conditions, the nature of this study precludes a thorough investigation of these factors. One interesting finding can be mentioned, however, in this connection. There seems to be a positive link between program success and participation of the firm in other programs (such as MDTA, Urban League). Firms that participated in similar programs had a higher likelihood of success with CEP. Further, the more individual firms participated in such programs, the greater their chances for success with CEP. It should also be noted that participation in other programs is not necessarily an external influence. Experience (especially a favorable one) with similar programs is likely to result in better understanding of the needs and aspirations of the disadvantaged and to improve attitudes, both of which lead to expectations of additional success. Further, such experience may be conducive to more effective planning of hiring practices, better orientation for CEP hires, greater preparation of co-workers and supervisors, and improvement of training programs.

COMPANY CHARACTERISTICS

Several characteristics of the employing firms are likely to influence the success of such programs. These include size of company, location of local plant, types of jobs offered, wage levels, and general hiring standards, among other factors.

Size of Company

Table 9-4 shows distribution of firms by total company employees. Most are relatively large firms, the largest having over 200,000 employees in all locations. Only 7 firms had 100 or fewer employees; the smallest had a total of 5. On the other hand, the local plants are mostly small and medium-sized; the smallest employed 5 and the largest 7,900 workers. The distribution of firms by size of local plant is given in Table 9-5.

It would appear that a larger company should be in a position to perform better than a smaller one regarding such programs as CEP. In the first place, larger companies usually have more resources per employee, greater diversity of job opportunities, and more experience with different types of employees. Other things equal, a larger company should have, therefore, a higher degree of success with CEP. The data collected for this study lent some support to this contention. There is a positive correlation between program success (measured by the proportion of hires still employed) and the number employed at the local plant ($\underline{r} = .28$, $N = 31$).

The interviewers' reports suggest other ways in which company size may have been a mediating factor. According to one interviewer, respondents for some of the larger companies reported that they had been briefed by CEP representatives on how to understand and work with disadvantaged people. Apparently, smaller companies did not receive such briefings, as none reported them. This preliminary instruction may have aided the larger companies in their interaction with CEP hires. It was also noted that respondents for large companies were usually experienced personnel workers who often displayed understanding of the problems of disadvantaged groups. This was less often true of the smaller companies.

Location of Firm

The geographic locations of companies which offer jobs to the disadvantaged has been alleged to be vital in determining the prospective success of the program. Presumably, the closer the location to the Model Cities neighborhood (the CEP target area), the greater the likelihood of success. The reasons for this are obvious: reduced travel time makes it easier for the disadvantaged to get to work; commuting costs are reduced; because work is likely to be in the neighborhood with which the individual is familiar, he might have less difficulty identifying himself with the job.

It has been assumed by many observers that it is infeasible to reach the industrial sections of some cities by public transportation; or if such sections are reachable, the trip involves extensive travel and/or numerous transfers. So far as Columbus is concerned, this does not seem to be the case. First, while most of the firms were located outside the Model Cities

Table 9-4

Distribution of Firms by Total Company Employees

	Number	% of Total
100 or fewer	7	8.6
101-1,000	15	18.5
1,001-5,000	7	8.6
5,001-10,000	3	3.7
10,001-25,000	5	6.2
25,000 or more	8	9.9
Not reported	36	44.4
Total	81	99.9

Table 9-5

Distribution of Firms by Number of Employees at Local Plant

	Number	% of Total
25 or fewer	11	13.5
26-100	16	19.8
101-200	15	18.5
201-1,000	23	28.4
1,001-5,000	14	17.3
5,001 or more	2	2.5
Total	81	100.0

neighborhood and downtown areas (see Table 9-6), 69 of 81 firms could be reached by public transportation. Further, travel time in no case exceeded one hour, and in most cases was less than 30 minutes. Moreover, while transfers were necessary in 44 cases, only in one was there a need to transfer more than once. It follows that, in this city, transportation problems should not be expected to bear heavily on program success, when other factors related to job conditions are considered.

Table 9-6

Location of Firms

	Number of Firms	% of All Firms
Downtown (Columbus)	15	18.5
Model neighborhood	3	3.7
Industrial fringe of downtown	27	33.3
Industrial ring at edge of city	20	25.9
Other	16	19.6
Total	81	100.0

Types of Jobs Offered

Of considerable interest is the relationship between program success and the types of jobs offered by the companies. The literature survey and study of individual attitudes among the disadvantaged suggest that they desire jobs which offer not only higher wages but also chances for promotion and career potential.

In Table 9-7, a regression model is employed to test the degrees to which several factors affect program success. The following factors are discussed in this connection: (1) how hard is the physical work on the average job given to CEP referrals; (2) general working conditions (light, temperature, noise, cleanliness); (3) degree of control a worker has over the speed or pace at which he works; (4) number of things a worker learns on the job which are likely to be useful on other jobs; and (5) chances for the average worker of getting a better job with the company. All of these were nine-point ratings, and averages were calculated for all jobs within a company.

Among these factors, only physical difficulty of the job is (statistically) significantly related to program success: the more difficult the physical aspects of the job, the less likely the program is to succeed.

Table 9-7 provides further information about these variables. As they were measured on a nine-point scale, the mean of each variable indicates how close to ideal conditions the average job characteristic was--as perceived by the employer. (It has already been shown that program participants tended to perceive various conditions in a different light from supervisors or employers. Such differences of opinion may explain the lack of statistical significance of the regression coefficients of some variables.) For example, employers saw their jobs as being slightly better than average regarding the hardship of physical demands (high scores are always positive). Similarly, working conditions were asserted to be slightly better than average. While control of pace and things a worker learns on the job were again only slightly better than the defined midpoints, respectively, the employers claimed that the chances for promotion were rather good--on the average. The comparison of employers with matched groups of other respondents in Chapter 7 showed that this was the one variable on which the other three groups were significantly lower.

It should be noted that, when other factors are not considered, working conditions are significantly related to success ($\underline{r}$ = .30): the better the conditions, the more likely it is that a company will succeed in the program. However, chances for advancement appear to affect success in an adverse manner--when other factors are not simultaneously accounted for. The negative sign in Table 9-7 indicates that this relationship persists even after other factors are considered, but the coefficient is not statistically significant. For the remaining variables, there seems to be no significant relationship with program success.

Wage Levels

Although the data from participants indicated that higher wage levels were associated with better job retention, the employer data did not support this finding. Employers were asked, first, about employees' attitudes toward wages in general: "How well paid does your average worker feel compared to other companies which do similar kinds of work?" This rather awkward construction was used to make this item as similar as possible to other items that were asked workers and direct supervisors. Perhaps because of its phrasing there was considerable variation in the ratings. The typical employer asserted that his workers felt they were paid wages better than the average--though not much better. Only 10 percent of employers (8 of 81) rated their average workers' attitudes as below average. It appears that employers' perceptions concerning wage levels had no influence on program success.

Employers were also asked to state minimum and maximum wages paid to CEP hires. Taking average wages for each employer, these variables are

Table 9-7

Effect of External Factors, Type of Job, and Company Characteristics on Program Success

Variable	Regression Coefficient	t	Mean	Standard Deviation
Difficulty recruiting?	-0.20	2.35	0.40	0.49
How well paid?	-0.01	0.22	6.11	1.38
How proud?	-0.03	0.72	6.68	1.39
Keep job?	-0.05	1.38	7.92	1.25
SES index--Mean	-0.00	0.02	23.76	12.92
Low pay--Mean $	0.09	0.85	2.24	0.47
High pay--Mean $	-0.03	0.84	2.47	0.98
Physical--Mean	-0.07	1.93	5.58	1.65
Conditions--Mean	-0.01	0.34	5.48	1.92
Pace--Mean	-0.01	0.21	5.18	1.63
Learns--Mean	0.03	0.90	5.76	1.82
Opportunity--Mean	-0.04	1.48	6.70	1.79
CEP Perform--Mean	0.04	1.65	4.51	1.70

$\bar{R}^2$[a] = 0.20 F-Ratio = 2.22 SEE[b] = 0.29 N = 63

[a] Corrected for degrees of freedom.

[b] SEE = Standard error of estimate.

uncorrelated with the success index. But as is clear from Table 9-7, there is only a slight difference between average minima and maxima. Further, the variation in minimum and maximum wages reported by employers was relatively small, while the variation in wages reported by the participants was much larger. The employers who were interviewed were those who were registered with CEP. CEP tried to limit its referrals to these higher paying jobs. Many of the jobs participants obtained on their own did not pay as well and these widened the range reported by participants.

General Hiring Standards

Each employer was asked to specify some of the requirements that were usually set for screening regular job applicants. The most common requirements were high school diploma (about 30 percent of the employers required this); previous training (22%), qualification tests (26%), health examination (74%), check on police record (52%), and draft exemption (26%). Of these requirements, two appear to be correlated with success in CEP: check on police record, and draft exemption. (Note, however, that these requirements were for regular employees.) As Table 9-8 indicates, those companies that tended to check on police records were more likely to succeed with CEP. Those companies that did not require draft exemption were more likely to succeed with CEP.

Table 9-8

Effect of General Hiring Standards on Program Success

Variable	Regression Coefficient	t	Mean	Standard Deviation
H.S. Diploma	0.08	0.64	0.30	0.46
Previous training	-0.13	0.97	0.22	0.42
Qualification tests	0.12	0.79	0.26	0.45
Health examination	0.02	0.12	0.74	0.45
Check police record	0.28	2.30	0.52	0.51
Draft exemption	-0.31	2.12	0.26	0.45

$\bar{R}^2$[a] = 0.12   F = 1.67   SEE[b] = 0.28   N = 27

[a] Corrected for degrees of freedom.

[b] Standard error of estimate.

A conjecture may be made as to the effect of requiring checks on police records: those companies with more rigorous employment criteria, in general, were likely to be stricter with CEP hires. If they screened, for example, more referrals per hired worker, their chances of success would obviously be greater. The data on this score were somewhat inconclusive: while the correlation between referrals per CEP hire and police check was positive, it was significant only at a very high probability level of about .2.

Similarly, those companies that did not require draft exemption might have increased their success with CEP because some of the better workers who qualified for the draft, but who may have been excluded by other companies, increased the general ability level of their hires. This statement is based on the observation that a large porportion of disadvantaged youth are disqualified by the draft because of inability to meet the minimum health and intelligence requirements.

Other Factors

A number of other factors are likely to affect program success. Goodman (1969) mentions, for example, that costliness of equipment may deter the hiring of hard-core workers and cause those employees who appear even slightly undependable to be discharged. Also, the more profitable the firm is, the more able it will be to sustain some losses due to accepting and training a score of disadvantaged youth. In addition, coverage by unions of all employees might be a serious bottleneck to hiring and retraining CEP referrals. (The data showed that companies in which employers were covered by union contracts were less likely to succeed with CEP [r = -.32].) Table 9-9 clearly shows that there was considerable variation in union coverage. It should be pointed out, however, that unionization and firm size are correlated: the larger the firm the more likely it is to be unionized (r = .38).

Table 9-9

Union Affiliation of CEP Employees

	Number of Firms	% of Total
Covered	35	43.2
Not covered	41	50.6
Some are	4	4.9
No response	1	1.2
Total	81	100.0

To find the net effect of union affiliation (X_1) on success (index 1) (Y) when the size of firm (X_2) is held constant, a multiple regression analysis was utilized. The equation (with standard errors of coefficients in parentheses) was

$$\begin{array}{llll} Y = & -0.187 & -0.095\,X_1 & +\;0.087\,X_2 \\ & (0.149) & (0.030) & \quad(0.041) \end{array}$$

($R^2 = 0.19$; $F = 6.06$; $N = 55$)

The equation indicates that even with firm size held constant, union affiliation resulted in reduced likelihood of success as given by index 1.

Finally, the racial composition of the regular employees may be significant, particularly when CEP participants are predominantly black, as was the case in this study. The data indicated that as the percentage of blacks among regular employees increased, the retention of CEP hires increased correspondingly ($r = .28$, $N = 39$).

DEGREE OF COMMITMENT

Program success is likely to be affected not only by company characteristics, as outlined above, but also by the attitudes of the employers toward the disadvantaged and some actions undertaken in conjunction with the program. Goodman (1969) mentions a number of variables that could measure the degree of commitment, including extent of involvement (number of individuals hired, for example), hierarchical level where the decision on whether to join the program is made, and attitudes of employers and supervisors.

Extent of Involvement

The larger the proportion of employees hired from the ranks of the disadvantaged, the more likely the employer was to be committed to the success of such programs. It has already been mentioned that the larger the percentage of blacks among regular employees the more likely the program was to succeed. Another measure of the extent of involvement was the ratio of CEP hires to the total number of workers in the local plant. The average for this ratio, among 42 employers for which complete data were available, is 0.069; that is, the number of CEP hires was approximately 7 percent of the number of regular employees (on the average, of course). The correlation between this index and the measure of success--index 1--was negative ($r = -.30$, $N = 42$), which implies that companies that hired relatively more CEP workers were less likely to succeed in the program. When the index of the extent of involvement was defined by the ratio of CEP hires currently employed to the total number of workers in the local plant, however, the correlation between this ratio and success index 1 was positive ($r = .23$, $N = 42$).

It may be speculated on the basis of the above information that firms that choose to hire more than the average number of CEP workers (in comparison to the others interviewed) are likely to have a lower than average rate of retention. This could be due to a number of factors, one of which may be that firms higher than average on the extent of involvement may be less strict with hiring standards, work rules, and so on. These would be firms with high turnover among all employees. It was found that for 42 firms only 2.3 percent of the total number of local plant employees were hired and retained, on the average, from among the CEP referrals. "Creaming," or extra selectivity, may be conducive to retention of CEP workers (just as it is alleged to operate in regard to other types of workers).

Level of Decision-Making

The hierarchial level of decision-making regarding all aspects of the CEP demonstrates the degree of commitment an employer has to such a program. If decisions are left to junior executives, the possibility that such a program will succeed is alleged to be slight compared to a situation in which a vice president or plant manager is responsible for such decisions. The distribution of employers by level of decision-making concerned with CEP is given in Table 9-10. It is seen that two-thirds of the employers gave top-management attention to CEP, while only one employer assigned low-level management to make decisions pertaining to CEP. Perhaps because of this relative uniformity in the level of decision-making with respect to CEP, little correlation was found between the latter and success of the program.

Table 9-10

Level of Decision-Making Regarding CEP Participants

	Number of Firms	% of Total
Top management	54	66.7
Middle management	25	30.9
Low-level management	1	1.2
No response	1	1.2
Total	81	100.0

Attitudes of Employers Toward CEP

Why do firms choose to hire disadvantaged workers? What do employers think of such programs as CEP and of individuals enrolled in them? It seems that answers to such questions ought to shed some light on the potential success of the program.

Table 9-11 lists the reasons cited by firms for cooperating with the Columbus CEP. The table gives the distributions of three responses--as employers could specify more than one reason. What is particularly interesting is that social considerations were cited by more than 45 percent of the employers in the first response and by more than 30 percent in the second. Shortage of workers and NAB influence were also mentioned frequently. In discussing the variety of reasons given for participation in CEP, one interviewer suggested that utility companies were anxious to create or maintain good public images. In addition, he felt that some firms entered the program only because they did not wish to be conspicuous by their absence. Most respondents who reported social considerations as their reasons for taking part said they normally had no difficulty filling their need for unskilled workers.

Table 9-11

Reasons Given by Firms for Cooperating in Employing CEP Referrals

Reasons	1st Response		2nd Response		3rd Response	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Shortage of workers	30	37.0	4	4.9	2	2.5
Social considerations	37	45.7	25	30.9	0	0
NAB influence	7	8.6	29	35.8	18	22.2
Example of other firms	2	2.5	5	6.2	7	8.6
Other	3	3.7	6	7.4	3	3.7
No response	2	2.5	12	14.8	51	63.0
Total	81	100.0	81	100.0	81	100.0

These reasons for involvement with CEP were not correlated with program success because of the manner in which the answers were coded, but the assertion that attitudes interact with program success can hardly be refuted. The last statement is supported by a number of observations. For example, the more favorable first-line supervisors felt about CEP referrals, the greater the likelihood for program success ($\underline{r} = .27$, $N = 21$). Similarly, the more favorable the employer's overall attitude toward CEP referrals, the greater was the likelihood of program success--whether measured by index 1 ($\underline{r} = .47$, $N = 42$) or index 4 ($\underline{r} = .55$, $N = 75$). Further, program success was also directly correlated with interviewers' assessments of employers' attitudes toward cooperation with CEP ($\underline{r} = .63$, $N = 75$), where the measure for success was given by index 4. Finally, the way the employer felt about how well the average CEP referral performed on the job is correlated with program success (index 1), when other factors were not held constant ($\underline{r} = .33$, $N = 42$). Note, however, that when other factors were considered, the independent effect of this variable on program success was not statistically significant (see Table 9-7).

Despite the high correlations between the attitude and success measures, the attitudes cannot be considered a cause of success. Both measures were taken after the program had been in operation for some time. At that point, attitudes may have already been influenced, to a greater or lesser extent, by the actual performance of the CEP program in general and the CEP workers in particular. Further, since index 4 is itself a measure of attitude, high correlations between it and various other attitude measures are to be expected. The point remains, however, that attitudes are likely to exert some influence on the probability of the program's success.

PROGRAM STRUCTURE

External factors, company characteristics, and degree of commitment all tend to affect the potential success of programs to employ the disadvantaged. But the nature of the program itself, and the resources and energy devoted to its implementation by employers, should be major factors determining the success or failure of CEP or related programs. In this section a number of factors related to the internal responses of companies to cooperate with CEP are analyzed. They include relaxation of hiring standards, working regulations, and behavior standards; type and extent of training programs; the "buddy" system; and other factors.

Relaxation of Hiring Standards

On the one hand, relaxing hiring standards is considered to make employment available to disadvantaged workers. On the other hand, program success measured in terms of the percentage of hires still employed is likely to vary inversely with relaxation of standards due to the "creaming" process alluded to earlier. Table 9-12 lists the most common adjustments

Table 9-12

Adjustments in Hiring Standards Reported by Firms

Adjustments	Number of Firms[a]	% of Total
Lowered standards generally	12 (72)	16.6
Dropped diploma requirement	17 (73)	23.3
Dropped or lowered test standards	11 (73)	15.1
Dropped or lowered training, etc.	16 (73)	21.9
Less rigid on personal characteristics	14 (73)	19.2
Changed job performance requirement	4 (72)	5.6

[a] Numbers in parentheses indicate total number of employers responding to the question.

in hiring standards. The most frequent adjustment was to drop the requirement for high school diploma or to lower the requirement for previous training. In addition, six employers reported a relaxation of standards concerning police records, while one employer waived all prior standards.

Further analysis of the data, in the context of multiple regression analysis, indicates that although relaxation of each (except one) standard, other things equal, results in a reduced likelihood of program success, these effects are not statistically significant (Table 9-13). The only positive relationship is between diploma requirement and success (as measured by index 1), but it is not statistically significant.

Relaxation of Working Regulations and Behavior Standards

In addition to rigid hiring standards, employers are often accused of being too strict with their employees concerning such matters as personal grooming, absenteeism, tardiness, and the like. These standards, it is

Table 9-13

Effects of Adjustment in Hiring Standards on Program Success

Variable	Regression Coefficient	t	Mean	Standard Deviation
Lowered standards generally	-0.04	0.24	0.18	0.40
Dropped diploma requirement	0.54	1.75	0.22	0.42
Lowered test standards	-0.06	0.32	0.18	0.40
Dropped previous training, etc.	-0.06	0.23	0.36	0.45
Less rigid on personal characteristics	-0.42	1.04	0.18	0.40
Refers to after hiring	-0.24	1.04	0.07	0.27

$\bar{R}^2 = 0.00$ F = 0.86 SEE = 0.30 N = 27

argued, make it difficult for the disadvantaged worker to retain a job once he has been hired. Again, employers were asked to state which modifications in these standards were made to accommodate the workers hired through CEP. The adjustments in work and behavior standards are summarized in Table 9-14.

Table 9-14

Adjustments in Working Standards

	Number of Firms[a]	% of Total
Absenteeism	25 (81)	30.9
Tardiness, lateness	10 (81)	12.4
Production	4 (81)	4.9
Other	3 (81)	3.7

[a] Numbers in parentheses indicate total number of employers responding to the question.

The most adjustments were made in regard to absenteeism and tardiness. But it appears that such adjustments were self-defeating: those companies that relaxed absenteeism or tardiness standards were less likely to obtain high scores on the program success index ($\underline{r} = -.28$, N = 31) for both absenteeism and tardiness. These results suggest that relaxing work standards is not a proper course of action--regardless of whether regular employees or disadvantaged workers are concerned. While these findings are far from conclusive, they do suggest a reexamination of the alleged relation between work regulations and retention of disadvantaged workers. They also confirm an impression obtained by the interviewers, who reported that when standards were maintained and carefully explained to new hires, retention seemed to be better. Careful explanation of strict standards could, of course, also serve as a screening device that would tend to eliminate applicants who knew they could not comply with strict standards.

It should be noted in this context that most employers chose to treat CEP referrals in much the same manner as regular employees. Only 5 of 81 employers stated that they gave CEP referrals more attention, and less than 20 percent said that they provided CEP workers with more training (see Table 9-15).

Table 9-15

Treatment of CEP Referrals

	Number of Firms	% of Total
Same as any other referrals	59	72.8
Give CEP referrals more attention	5	6.2
Give CEP referrals more training	15	18.5
No response	2	2.5
Total	81	100.0

Special Training Programs

It is often assumed that the disadvantaged are a special breed and thus should receive specialized training programs. The data showed that special training programs were given in only twenty firms (about 25 percent of the total). Of these twenty firms, eighteen conducted the training after the CEP referrals took their regular jobs. The majority of firms (thirteen) had only on-the-job training, while the remainder combined on-the-job training with instruction away from the work site.

Table 9-16 indicates that half of the programs were completed in no more than four weeks, while Table 9-17 illustrates that approximately one-half of all firms devoted no more than ten hours per week to training. In ten firms, training consisted of orientation to the company and good work habits, while in others more intensive training took place. Among the latter, the most common type of training mentioned was job duties (six firms). Other topics covered included safety rules, reading blue prints, basic work rules, and use and operation of machines and equipment.

Table 9-16

Duration of Training Programs

	Number of Firms	% of Total
1-4 weeks	9	50.0
5-12 weeks	4	22.2
More than 12 weeks	1	5.6
As long as needed	4	22.2
Total	18	100.0

Table 9-17

Hours of Training Per Week

	Number of Firms	% of Total
1-10 hours	9	47.4
11-20 hours	2	10.5
21-30 hours	1	5.3
30 hours or more	5	26.3
As long as needed	2	10.5
Total	19	100.0

Larger companies were more likely to have structured programs, while in the smaller firms they were usually handled by foremen (nine firms). Other individuals who were mentioned as responsible for training included supervisor (three firms), co-worker, senior technician, youth counselor, coordinator, private agency, contract instructor, personnel department, and service manager (one firm each).

Several companies introduced programs to attempt to improve the habits or attitudes of CEP workers. Among the eighteen firms reporting such programs, ten employed individual counseling; the others introduced such things as orientation programs, merit awards, and job coaches.

The data do not demonstrate any relationship between special training programs and the overall success of the companies with CEP referrals. In all fairness to the companies interviewed, it should be mentioned that the word "special" in the question caused many to say they had no "special program" for CEP hires. In most instances the respondent was careful to point out that his company had a basic policy of equal opportunity which included a program for all new employees, not just CEP referrals. Other reasons given for not providing special programs were a desire to avoid identifying CEP referrals as a different group and that there were too few CEP hires to warrant such programs.

Preparation of Supervisors and Rank-and-File Employees

The data did not support the contention that early preparation of supervisors and regular employees to deal with newly hired disadvantaged workers would be correlated with program success. Nevertheless, the hypothesis appears plausible enough to merit some discussion of the sort of things that were done by some of the employers to attempt to bridge the alleged gap between supervisors and regular employees on one side and CEP referrals on the other.

First, it is interesting that only one-fourth of the employers thought that at least some of their rank-and-file workers knew who CEP referrals were and only slightly over half of the employers believed that supervisors knew who CEP referrals were. Obviously, knowledge of who was referred by CEP is a prerequisite for any attempt to narrow the gap between supervisors and regular workers and supervisors and disadvantaged workers (see Table 9-18).

Special training was given to first-line supervisors in fifteen firms (Table 9-19). In nine of them, training was given prior to the initiation of the program. In two cases, training was given during the program but not before, while in four firms training was given both before and during the program. The training was given by a variety of persons or agencies: the National Alliance of Businessmen, personnel director, instructor from Ohio State University, and employment manager. Length of the programs varied from one hour to eighty hours (with only eight responses).

Table 9-18

Knowledge by First-Line Supervisors and Regular Employees of Which Employees are CEP Referrals

	Supervisors		Reg. Employees	
	Number	%	Number	%
Know who are CEP	36	44.4	5	6.2
Some may know CEP	10	12.3	12	14.8
Don't know CEP	35	43.2	58	71.6
No response	--	--	6	7.4
Total	81	99.9	81	100.0

Table 9-19

Special Training to First-Line Supervisors

	Number	% of Total
None	27	33.3
Before program	9	11.1
Current, but not before program	2	2.5
Before and currently	4	5.0
No response	39	48.1
Total	81	100.0

The majority dealt with interpersonal relations by demonstrating problems supervisors were likely to encounter. Other topics included case studies of black success, promotion of better understanding, psychological tests and counseling, discussion groups, visits to CEP, and a bus tour of the Model Cities neighborhood.

In most cases, rank-and-file employees were not notified before CEP workers were hired. Only fifteen firms reported any type of preparation. In seven firms, this took the form of group meetings of regular employees with their supervisors. In four firms, employees were notified of the program through internal publications. Other methods were advance notice by employer, joint apprenticeship with union, and guidance of younger (CEP) workers by older ones.

Contact and Cooperation with CEP

A large number of employers had contacts with CEP that went beyond the mere listing of job vacancies. Of fifty-two companies that had such contacts, thirty-one had visited CEP personally, and twenty-eight had made telephone calls (visits and phone calls are not mutually exclusive categories). Other types of contact included use of CEP coaches (seven firms), counseling services (three), observation of training program, and help by the CEP sponsor (Columbus Metropolitan Area Community Action Organization) in writing the proposal for the JOBS contract (one firm each). While such contacts might be beneficial to the program, the data do not reveal any correlation between program success and contact with CEP.

Use of coaches, however, particularly when they are considered to be helpful, appears to be related to program success, when the latter is measured by index 4. That is, those employers who asserted that the coaches were helpful tended to evaluate the program's success considerably higher ($r = .34$, $N = 52$). Most employers asserted that they had some contact with CEP coaches. Further, 75 percent of the employers responding considered these coaches helpful, compared to 23 percent who said they were not. The most common answer to the question "How were the coaches helpful?" was "helped fill out papers" (six firms). Other responses were: "helped find the right person for the job," "briefed supervisors on the CEP program," "helped arrange transportation," and "coach came with referral." However, some employers noted that "if a man wants to work he does not need a coach," or, "coaches were a hindrance."

Most employers felt that CEP handled job-order referrals quite efficiently (sixty of seventy firms). Among the complaints voiced by employers concerning the handling of referrals were the following: "lag in filling orders" (three firms); "referrals did not come to the job"; "CEP slow in filling job orders" and "CEP sent no referrals" (two firms each); "wanted referrals without police records, but CEP sent them with records"; "lack of communication"; and "requested twenty referrals but CEP sent fifty, thus causing confusion and irritation" (one firm each). Some employers complained that CEP referred workers and then left them alone, and several noted that some follow-up by CEP personnel would have been helpful to both the new employee and his employers. One interviewer reported that while many comments concerning the program were meant to be constructive, others were simply complaints. Although some of the criticism was apparently valid, this interviewer felt that much of it was simply defensive, as the companies with the least impressive records were among those who complained the most. Overall, there was no association between how employers felt about CEP handling of referrals and the indices of program success.

Other Factors

Several other factors related to the internal program structure were investigated in this study. One interesting result is that a firm which tended to scatter CEP referrals in the entire plant--rather than concentrate them in a single part of the plant--also tended to score lower in the success index (index 1) ($r = -.34$, N = 42).

"Buddy" System. The majority of the employers introduced what is known as a "buddy system," in which each CEP referral was assigned a co-worker from among the rank-and-file employees to assist him in all aspects of his new job. In twenty-eight firms the system was "formal," in eighteen it was "informal." Thirty-four employers reported no buddy systems in their companies. It seems likely that companies which adopt such a system are more likely to succeed with programs such as CEP. But no conclusive evidence, pro or con, could be discerned from the data.

Attitudes of Co-workers. Finally, attitudes of the supervisors and co-workers are likely to be related to the potential success of the program. It has already been mentioned that attempts to foster appropriate attitudes toward the disadvantaged ought to influence the degree to which programs to employ the disadvantaged are likely to succeed. A positive but non-significant correlation was found between supervisors' opinions about CEP referrals and the success of the program ($r = .27$, N = 21). While there is no indication in the data that positive attitudes by co-workers were related to program success, only in nine of seventy-nine firms did the employers point to adverse feelings by co-workers. These feelings were expressed by such statements as "CEP referrals are getting the breaks" (three firms); "regular employees complained about 'personal hygiene'" (one); or simply "regular employees complain" (three).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

An attempt was made in this chapter to analyze some of the factors that might affect employers' experiences with CEP referrals. A number of company characteristics were outlined in relation to program success. It has been shown that a higher than average number of employees and a higher percentage of blacks among rank-and-file workers were positively related to program success. Other factors that are asserted to influence success--but for which no evidence was found from the employer perspective--include the geographic location of the firm, wage levels, hiring standards, and the employer's perception of the quality of his jobs.

The degree of commitment by employers to programs designed to employ the disadvantaged is also crucial. The study shows that favorable attitudes by employers were directly associated with program success. There is also some supporting evidence that the extent of involvement and the hierarchical level at which decisions concerning the program were made were likely to affect the success of the program.

Finally, the structure of the program is obviously important. It has been shown that (contrary to popular thinking) relaxation of hiring standards tended to *reduce* the likelihood of success. Contact with helpful CEP coaches, however, increased the likelihood of success. Also, it has been demonstrated that the chances for success become greater the more CEP referrals are concentrated in one section of a firm. And while it is often suggested that many other program-structure variables affect program success, *a priori*, the data failed to support such hypotheses. Among the variables discussed are introduction of special training programs, preparation of supervisors and co-workers, contact with CEP (other than coaches), and use of a "buddy system."

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Chapter 10

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR MANPOWER PROGRAMS

The Concentrated Employment Program represented[1] an attempt to bring together previously uncoordinated efforts to serve individuals who had difficulty obtaining employment. Two important assumptions on which CEP was developed were that a special effort was necessary to overcome the discouragement and alienation of the hard-core unemployed, and that the disadvantaged needed a variety of special services to prepare them to hold jobs. Prior to the initiation of CEP the federally supported manpower effort consisted of separate programs that often had overlapping and at times conflicting objectives. CEP was an effort of the federal government to focus these programs and resources, bring them together in a coherent system under one organizational sponsor, and fund them through a single channel. Of greater immediate significance to the target population, CEP was designed to achieve a balance of job placement and job training opportunities and services of different types in order to meet the specific needs of individuals. In addition to job placement and training, CEP was to provide such services as coaching, an orientation-to-work program, vocational counseling, health services, day care, and legal aid. Active efforts were to be made to seek out and encourage prospective participants to take advantage of these services.

Such was the underlying rationale of CEP when the present study was planned. The study began in the fall of 1968 and was situated in a newly organized CEP in Columbus, Ohio. Columbus was chosen because at that time it had a labor market with representative economic and social characteristics that were conducive to an examination of the factors influencing CEP. Industry and, therefore, occupations were diversified and required many different types of workers. In addition, because unemployment rates were low, the demand variable was, in effect, controlled for the period of data collection (January 1969 to September 1970).

The study had two phases. The first was designed to determine why many prospective participants who demonstrated an initial interest in

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[1] Although many CEP's are still in active operation, the Columbus CEP, in which the present study was conducted, has been closed. Because of this closure and because many of the conditions and assumptions on which the CEP was originally based have changed, this chapter refers to CEP in the past tense. An attempt is made in this chapter to relate the findings from the Columbus CEP to the general problems of providing employment for those who meet the definition of "hard-core unemployed."

CEP did not become actively involved in the program and why some participants who did enroll withdrew before completing the program. The second phase developed from the first and examined the employment experiences of participants after they left CEP. The information gathered in this second phase was designed to identify the factors that were associated with retention on the job.

Both phases of the study led to the same major conclusions: (1) Most of the target population that came in contact with CEP in Columbus, Ohio, did not fit the discouraged and alienated stereotype that is usually associated with the term "hard-core unemployed." (2) Most of those who came in contact with the Columbus CEP held generally favorable opinions about it. (3) The effectiveness of the Columbus CEP in recruiting participants, retaining them in the program, and placing them in stable jobs was dependent primarily on the quality of jobs the program could make available. The participants tended to define the quality of jobs in terms of wage rates. Good jobs were those that paid approximately the average for manufacturing workers in Columbus, about $3.50 per hour. Although most of the participants demonstrated that they were willing to accept jobs offering far less than this, they also showed through their unemployment prior to CEP participation that they were unwilling to take the low-paying, dead-end jobs that were readily available to them.

For a target population of the type to which the Columbus CEP was directed, supportive services were of less importance than the quality of the jobs to which CEP could refer its participants. For the program to attract and place unemployed young men it had to be able to offer them jobs that were better than those its participants could get on their own. The implications of these conclusions for programs directed to poverty populations is that their major effort should not focus on enhancing the attractiveness of participants to employers, but on increasing the quality of job opportunities available to participants. The Columbus CEP, with the cooperation of the Columbus chapter of the National Alliance of Businessmen, did improve the quality of jobs available to its participants, but by so doing came face to face with one of the major dilemmas of manpower programs for poverty populations--jobs that the poor want they often cannot retain.

It must be assumed that there is some degree of efficiency in the operation of the labor market. Most people do find jobs that represent a reasonable match between their skills and the needs of employers. In many jobs the skills that workers offer are not technical, but include a willingness to work hard enough to meet production standards, a willingness to accept orders given by management, a tolerance for boring or physically tiring activities, a habit of punctuality and regular attendance, and so on. A person who cannot offer these skills will not be hired or, if he is hired, he will not be retained.[2] The participants in CEP indicated by enrolling in the program that they could not get the kinds of jobs they wanted through their own efforts and resources. When CEP's efforts succeeded in placing them in jobs that were more desirable than those they could get on their own, their lack of employability skills, which had prevented them from getting such jobs in the past, often contributed to their losing the jobs obtained through CEP.

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[2] Discrimination is, of course, another reason that prevents many poor blacks from obtaining worthwhile jobs. The Columbus CEP, however, seemed to overcome the hiring barrier, and discrimination was rarely mentioned by the

This is not to say that CEP had no effect. At the time the follow-up interviews were conducted, about nine to ten months after the participants left CEP, over one-third (37%) of those who had been placed in jobs by CEP were still working at these jobs. This 37 percent, it should be emphasized, represents the proportion of those who were placed by CEP. If the base used is all CEP participants who were interviewed, regardless of whether they were placed, the proportion still in jobs that had been obtained through CEP falls to 22 percent. Nevertheless, CEP did provide a vehicle for a significant proportion of its participants to obtain fairly stable jobs. The point being stressed is that unless a program can offer attractive jobs minor modifications in the administrative procedures or kinds of services offered by the program, or minor changes in the hiring standards of employers or training of supervisors, will not have major impact on the placement or job retention of the hard-to-employ.

In the first part of this chapter the major results of the present study, which led to the conclusions presented above, are summarized. To provide a framework in which to consider these results, an attempt is made to explain the job adjustment problems of men from poverty backgrounds. The explanation is couched in terms of the importance of work to a person's sense of who and what he is--his personal identity. It is suggested that when some men are unable to assume valid occupational roles, they seek to affirm their identities through interaction with peers, with what has been described as an "expressive life style" (Rainwater, 1970). The chapter concludes by offering suggestions to improve the effectiveness of job placement programs for young men with expressive life styles. These suggestions assume that a transition from the expressive life style to an identity as a worker is necessary. To facilitate this transition the jobs that are offered by programs such as CEP will have to be attractive enough to provide some incentive for change; a period of adjustment to the demands of the jobs must also be allowed for.

MAJOR FINDINGS

Characteristics and Attitudes of Participants and Potential Participants

The participants and potential participants of the Columbus CEP were predominantly young males, and virtually all were black. The incomes and

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respondents as a reason for leaving jobs obtained after leaving CEP. This discussion thus attempts to isolate reasons other than discrimination that are detrimental to job retention.

employment histories that they reported for the year prior to their initial contact with CEP clearly met the definition of hard-core unemployment. Most had been employed less than half of the preceding year, and their total annual income averaged between $1,500 and $1,600. There did not appear to be any demographic differences between the actual participants and the potential participants who expressed an interest but decided not to take part in the program. Those who did enroll, the actual participants, were divided into groups of program completers and dropouts and also divided by their job status (employed or unemployed) shortly after leaving CEP and again nine to ten months later. Only one demographic variable, the sex of the respondent, was found to be predictive of job status: female participants were more likely to be employed following CEP than males. No demographic variable had a statistically significant relationship to program completion.

While the participants and potential participants met the program definition of hard-core unemployed, the self-reports of their attitudes and goals hardly fit the stereotype usually associated with that label. Their responses revealed some skepticism about their chances in life, but they seldom merited a description as discouraged and defeated. The potential participants who did not take part in CEP were questioned at some length about their evaluations of the opportunities open to them and whether these evaluations were related to their decision not to enter the program. Their answers suggested they had a generally realistic recognition of the limited options in their lives. They were, nevertheless, hopeful of moderate upward mobility, although skeptical that CEP would be of any help in realizing these hopes.

The responses to a series of questions on what was most liked and disliked in previous jobs and what the respondents' job and income desires were "now" and "some time in the future" also indicated expectations among a majority of the respondents that appeared capable of attainment. These answers revealed, however, that a significant proportion of the respondents had rather vague, uncrystallized vocational preferences. Although almost all had held several previous jobs, many could not cite any one that they particularly liked or disliked; nor could they state job preferences for the present or for some time in the future. This lack of crystallization was probably the result of the limited kinds of vocational experience they had had. While they had worked at many jobs, these were mainly within a restricted range of skills and duties. Very few of the respondents who expressed preferences, however, gave totally unrealistic ones. Job goals were somewhat above what had been held in the past, but, given adequate employment and training opportunities, they seemed quite attainable.

The major factor that seemed to separate the potential participants who never enrolled from the actual participants was their evaluation of what they felt CEP could do for them. The former were decidedly more pessimistic about the ability of CEP to provide jobs that were any better than those which they could get on their own. It also appears that it was the inability of the CEP to satisfy the job desires of some of its regular participants that caused them to drop out. The dropouts were more willing than the potential participants to give CEP a try, but when the program was slow in providing the jobs or training they wanted, they left. Since CEP was unable to satisfy the job desires of the potential participants and dropouts, it would seem likely that they might have higher aspirations than the participants who completed CEP. This, however, was not the case. The patterns of job desires in the three groups were quite similar, and, if anything, the goals of the completers seemed somewhat higher. Moreover, when they initially visited CEP, more than one-half of the potential participants and two-thirds of the dropouts did not specify particular job preferences. Thus, although they were dissatisfied with what CEP could provide, most were rather uncertain as to what they wanted, other than a "good job."

This lack of vocational values and goals among the hard-to-employ was found in response to several questions on job experiences and job aspirations. Such lack of direction naturally makes the task of a manpower program much more difficult. For undecided participants the program must not only attempt to find suitable jobs or training, but must help them to define for themselves just what suitable means.

Attitudes Toward Work

One of the most debated characteristics concerning the hard-to-employ is the nature of their attitudes toward work and jobs. The debate usually focuses on whether the hard-core really want to work. One argument is that plenty of jobs are available, and anyone who wants to work can get a job. The "help wanted" advertisements of the daily newspapers are usually cited as evidence that jobs are going begging. An analysis of the help wanted ads for two periods in Columbus showed that while many jobs were available, relatively few of them were suitable for the typical CEP participant. The counter argument, while it attempts to understand the reasons for unemployment, usually concedes that anyone who has had repeated negative employment experiences is going to be reluctant to expose himself again. Both arguments thus imply that the hard-core individual probably is not overly concerned about finding a job.

The present research utilized several different techniques to assess the attitudes toward work of the participants. Several of these were nontraditional techniques which were employed to overcome the criticism that most measures are inappropriate for use with poverty populations. Some were chosen because they did not rely entirely upon respondents' verbal reports. The results indicated that the verbal measures agreed significantly with perceptual measures which were less susceptible to deliberate distortion. The participants' attitudes toward work as measured by both techniques were generally positive. The results also indicated that work attitudes were responsive to differences in the success of CEP and work experiences. Completers and those who were employed more steadily after the program had more positive attitudes than dropouts and those who found less regular employment. Despite these differences, measures that were obtained when the participants entered the program could not predict success in the program or in subsequent employment. It was clearly indicated, however, that if CEP proved to be an unsuccessful experience for the participant, his attitudes toward work were likely to change in a negative direction. The analyses also indicated that while the participants had fairly positive attitudes toward work, there was not a great deal of ego involvement in these attitudes. An individual's attitudes toward work, in other words, were not essential elements in his concept of who and what he was as a person.

In the follow-up interviews, which are discussed at length in the next section, the most sensitive attitude items were administered to the former CEP participants, and to samples of their co-workers who had no experience with CEP and their employers. The distribution of attitude scores was highly similar in all samples and the means did not differ by more than five points. These results demonstrate that the positive evaluation of work common in our society is shared by the hard-to-employ. The CEP participants were also very similar to the co-workers in their mean ranking of eight attractive job features.

In general, perceptions of the CEP itself were quite favorable among our respondents. Even the potential participants who had decided not to enroll were usually positive about the program and the way they had been treated by the staff. As would be expected, participants who entered CEP and then withdrew before job placement were more critical. Dropouts were less likely to feel that their coaches were helpful, less likely to feel that they could manage on their training allowances, and less likely to have been helped by the other supportive services than completers. Even in these areas, however, a majority of the dropouts responded favorably. Supportive services such as health care, day care, and legal aid were reported as needed or received by only a small percentage of the participants.

These results have a major implication for the design and funding of future programs such as CEP: alienation, rejection, and the need for a variety of services do not appear to be very important for a predominantly young male population. These participants were interested primarily in jobs; they left or did not participate in CEP because they felt it had no appropriate jobs for them. The only major dissatisfaction expressed with CEP in retrospective evaluations was that it did not provide jobs or the kinds of jobs wanted.

Employment Following CEP

Even if CEP could successfully retain its participants, and influence their attitudes toward work and their job experiences, its success would not necessarily be considered complete. As the participants' own criticisms demonstrated, to be really successful the program would have had to provide participants with opportunities for jobs that were stable and offered decent wages and the potential for advancement. The degree to which the Columbus CEP was able to attain this ambitious goal was assessed through interviews conducted with former participants right after they left the program and again nine to ten months later. At the time of the second interviews, 63 percent of the completers and 48 percent of the dropouts were employed. Over the entire period covered by the follow-up, the completers had maintained a similar advantage. They had been employed in full-time jobs approximately 60 percent of the time while the dropouts had been employed about 50 percent of the entire period.

Regression analyses indicated that the higher employment of the completer group over the dropouts right after leaving CEP related to certain experiences associated with participation in CEP. It appears that participation in the program was a necessary but not sufficient condition to increase the employment potential of the hard-core individual. Participants who reported having had regular coaches while participating in the program, feeling that CEP provided what they hoped for, and having accepted CEP-referred jobs were more likely to be employed when interviewed soon after the program.

The analyses of total post-CEP employment revealed that the variables most consistently associated with job retention over the entire follow-up period were sex and attendance in the CEP orientation program. Females were more likely to be employed than males, and participants who attended orientation were less likely to be employed than those who did not attend.

The orientation program was intended to enhance employability of those participants who were judged by the CEP staff to be less "job ready"; the more employable participants were referred directly to jobs. The lower employment after CEP of those who attended orientation suggests that the CEP staff was generally correct in their assessment of employability, but that the orientation program was not able to bring those who attended it to the same level of employability as those who were referred directly to jobs.

The employment factors that were most closely associated with job retention on most recently or currently held jobs were wages. But just paying high wages was not the answer to retaining workers. There was evidence that high starting wages were associated with less retention, which suggests that employers who were willing to offer higher than average starting wages to CEP participants also required more of their workers. Workers who could not satisfy these more demanding requirements could not retain their jobs. Rather than offering high starting wages a better policy to enhance the retention of a CEP-type population would be to offer a combination of average starting wages with the opportunity for fairly rapid increases. A plan for implementing such a policy is presented in the section titled "Achieving an Accommodation."

Most of the jobs held by completers during the interval between separation from CEP and the follow-up interviews were found with the aid of CEP, but many completers also held at least one non-CEP-obtained job. Among all groups of respondents personal referrals were reported as the prime source for finding non-CEP jobs. Considering all employment after CEP the jobs held were found to differ among groups primarily because CEP tended to place more completers with manufacturing concerns in production or benchwork type jobs. Jobs found without the aid of CEP were more likely to be in service occupations.

In addition to the job histories on total employment, considerable information was gathered during the follow-up interviews on most recently held jobs. The responses of the former CEP participants were compared to those received from matched samples of co-workers and supervisors. These matched samples were obtained by asking the former participants to name their direct supervisors and co-workers who did the same kind of work but who had had no contact with CEP. Data identical to that obtained from the participants were collected from as many co-workers and supervisors as could be contacted. Although many participants could not name both, it was possible to construct eighty-seven triads, each consisting of a former participant, a co-worker, and the supervisor responsible for both. Generally there was little agreement across these three groups in their assessments of job parameters such as attractiveness of working conditions, worker's control over work pace, or friendliness of other workers. Within each group, however, there was considerable agreement across the various measures. Although each group's members applied different standards in their ratings, the individual respondents were consistent in the standards they applied.

The ratings that the participants made of their own performances were as high as those of their co-workers, but the supervisors who evaluated them both rated the co-workers higher on most dimensions of job performance. While the former CEP participants--who, it is generally assumed, were less informed about jobs--viewed their own performances in much the same way as the co-workers viewed theirs, the supervisors tended to see significant differences between the two groups. If the supervisors' ratings are taken as the standard, the conclusion is that the former participants overrated their performances. Nevertheless, the similarities between the mean ratings of former participants and their co-workers were more noteworthy than the differences.

Further comparisons of the measures of job attitudes were made among subgroups of former CEP participants. These individuals were grouped by their employment status (whether employed or unemployed at the time of the follow-up interviews) and by the status of the most recent job (whether it had been a CEP placement or obtained by other means). As would be expected, the employed participants tended to evaluate their current jobs more favorably than the unemployed participants rated their last-held positions. There were fewer differences between ratings based on placement status, although those whose most recent jobs had been found with the aid of CEP seemed somewhat more satisfied than participants who had found employment on their own.

Factor analyses of responses to the job rating questionnaire and to the job satisfaction measure showed that the former CEP participants tended to evaluate their jobs along some dimensions that were basically similar to those of the co-workers who had had no contact with CEP. The participants' evaluations, however, were less differentiated than those of the co-workers, especially regarding supervision. The former CEP participants were less able to discriminate between the role required of the supervisor by the company (providing direction and pressure to insure production) and his own interpersonal behavior (providing friendly support). This tendency of the participants to react to global impressions of the supervisor highlighted the importance of the immediate superior in determining the attitudes and opinions of the participants toward their jobs.

The factor analyses pointed to another important difference between the participants and the co-workers in that the latter perceived the diligence of their efforts on the job as being related to the rewards they received from working. The former CEP participants were apparently less sure that there was any relationship between their own efforts and the rewards they received from their jobs. The factor analyses also indicated that the responses of former participants who were employed at the time of follow-up were more similar to those of the co-workers than they were to those of former participants who were out of work.

From the typical kinds of job experiences the CEP participants had had, they could be expected to be less differentiating in their perceptions of their supervisors' behavior and less likely to see their individual efforts yielding any returns. There can be little doubt that in many of the jobs they had held before entering CEP their efforts had not been rewarded and many of their supervisors may well have been antagonistic to them. While such attitudes are understandable, they are not conducive to stable job adjustment. Workers who feel disliked and exploited are likely to leave jobs whenever extra demands are made of them. Workers who repeatedly leave jobs that become uncomfortable, however, never learn that supervisors can press for production and still be helpful and supportive, or that employers sometimes are appreciative of extra effort. Workers who expect to be mistreated are more likely to feel they are mistreated and, hence, are more likely to leave their jobs. Each new negative experience reinforces previously held attitudes, and the result is a set of deeply ingrained expectations that are contrary to the development of stable work patterns. A clearly defined schedule relating worker performance to specific rewards received from the employer could help to overcome these expectations. Such a schedule is described in the section "Achieving an Accommodation."

The Employer's Perspective

To provide another perspective on the factors influencing job adjustment of CEP placements, interviews were held with representatives of employers who listed jobs with the Columbus CEP. The success that these firms had with CEP referrals was defined by retention rates for CEP hires and by the attitude of the employers toward the program. Using these definitions, it was found that firms with more employees than the sample average and more blacks among their regular employees tended to be more successful. Those firms that assigned CEP referrals to a few areas instead of scattering them throughout their work force were also, on the average, more successful. These findings suggest that the CEP hires who found themselves working with several other blacks had fewer problems adjusting to their jobs.

The degree of employer commitment to the program was also important. Commitment was estimated on the basis of the ratio of CEP-referred employees to total employees, the level of management at which decisions concerning CEP were made, and the reports of the attitudes of direct supervisors and employers. These indices of commitment all bore significant relationship to the indices of the retention of CEP hires. Three-fourths of the respondents also mentioned social considerations as a major reason for cooperating with CEP.

Most of the employers interviewed did not conduct any special programs for CEP hires, nor did they alter the nature of their jobs or standards on absenteeism, tardiness, or production. However, almost all employers adjusted their regular hiring criteria to accept CEP referrals. Where standards other than those for hiring were adjusted for CEP referrals, retention seems to have been poorer. Maintaining regular company standards, but explaining them carefully to new hires, appeared to be a more successful policy.

IMPLICATIONS FOR MANPOWER PROGRAMS

In this section some thoughts and conclusions are presented concerning the meaning that these data have for the conduct of manpower programs, such as CEP, that are directed to poverty populations. No attempt is made here to offer suggestions to overcome poverty or to address more than a few factors which contribute to persistent unemployment. Rather, the discussion is concerned with assumptions and functioning of the Columbus CEP as they affected the employability of its participants. Where appropriate the assumptions are questioned and alternate means of attaining the expressed goals of such programs--namely, enhancing the employment status of those labeled hard-core unemployed--are suggested.

It is obvious that one set of characteristics cannot adequately define hard-core unemployment, yet the characteristics used for CEP program administration were usually limited to income, weeks of unemployment, and the absence of job skills. Unfortunately, these only begin to describe the problem. There were at least four major types of unemployment encountered in the Columbus CEP. Two of these--unemployment due to poor physical condition and unemployment due to addiction--are quite difficult to deal with through broad-scale programs. The problems typically require individual diagnosis and care, and often even with such treatment the damage done to the individual is irreparable.

A trip through any inner city will reveal many people who have been defeated by life. The men are typically stooped and bent, literally worn down by their life-long struggle for existence. Many women are grossly overweight, the result of diets high in carbohydrates and fats and too low in protein. These people are not employable in any conventional sense of the word. They may be able to contribute in a controlled situation where the demands made upon them are within their limits of ability and energy. There can be little hope of making these people "job ready" for regular employment. Despite its aim of coordinating services for human resource development, the Columbus CEP could do little to accommodate such debilitated people, either by providing the extensive health services needed or by developing jobs suitable for them, in sheltered workshops or other noncompetitive environments.

Hard-core unemployment caused by addiction, to either alcohol or drugs, obviously cannot be treated without extensive medical and psychotherapeutic services. Manpower programs typically have been deficient in these, and, even if such services were available, prospects for rehabilitation are usually quite poor. Questions can be raised whether manpower agencies should invest their funds to combat addiction problems which are so difficult to treat. At any rate, such services were not provided by the Columbus CEP and therefore it is not possible to estimate if any positive effects might have been generated from such an effort.

The two other major types of unemployment encountered in the Columbus CEP seemed more amenable to interventions intended to alleviate them. These were unemployment that is the result of child care responsibilities and the unemployment of young men who are unwilling to take the kinds of jobs that are available to them. Since these types of unemployment can be dealt with through program interventions, proposed methods of combating these are discussed at some length.

Many of the young women who applied to the Columbus CEP appeared to be prevented from holding jobs only because they had to remain with their children. If adequate child care had been provided, many could have assumed work roles with little difficulty; however, the Columbus CEP was not equipped to offer such services on the scale that they were needed. This seems unfortunate, first because of the benefits which might have accrued to the children from such care (for example, as through Project Head Start or other school readiness programs), and, second, because a substantial number of women could then have participated in training and benefited from job placement. One of the most consistent findings of this study was that women were more likely than men to have successfully maintained employment after leaving CEP.

The need for child development centers has received enough acceptance in our society for both houses of the 92nd Congress to have passed bills designed to establish them. The Senate bill, introduced by Senator Mondale and others (S1512), and the House bill introduced by Representative Brademas and others (HR6719, HR6748) deal chiefly with services for children from disadvantaged families. The funding for the centers is based primarily on the ratio of the number of families that meet the criteria of disadvantaged within a given service area. If families with higher incomes wish to send their children to the centers they are charged sliding fees based on the amount of family income. Both bills stress the need for educational, health, nutritional, and social services, so that the centers do not become merely babysitting operations.

Although at this writing these bills have not had final passage, it seems certain that they will. As plans are made to implement them, care should be taken to assure that the centers are kept in the inner city neighborhoods, responsive and responsible to the clients they serve. Within each poverty area a number of locations could be selected. Parents could decide to which of these centers they wished to send their children. The parents who were the clients of each center should then have a voice in deciding the policies under which the centers would operate. Adequate safeguards for the health, safety, physical comfort, and nutrition of the children as well as budgetary limits should, of course, be established;

but with such guidelines as a foundation, the parents should be given considerable voice in deciding the hours the center would operate, the types of programs that would be offered, learning materials and toys to be provided, menus for lunches, and so forth.

In many cases the decisions made in these matters might not be the ones that would be made by educators or dieticians, but they would reflect the wishes and self-perceived needs of the families to be served and not their needs as seen either by a bureaucrat far removed from the actual situation or by self-appointed spokesmen who may have little actual support in the community. And the ability of people to choose what is right for themselves should not be discounted. Despite the relative failure of many attempts to induce "citizen involvement" in community action programs and Model Cities elections, the effort should not be dismissed. People who throughout their lives have been those acted upon rather than the actors cannot be expected to change simply because another new panacea is announced with elaborate publicity but with few actual effects felt at the individual level. The opportunity, however, to participate directly in decisions affecting the lives of one's children should evoke far more responsiveness. Bronfenbrenner (1967) has suggested that neighborhood centers for children and parents could draw upon the love that all parents feel for their children to motivate the formation of cooperative neighborhood groups.

With the pressing need for child care centers, there is the danger that once all the authorizing legislation is enacted there will be considerable pressure to provide facilities as quickly as possible. This pressure will be increased even more if Congress passes a welfare reform program that includes authorization for the payment of day care costs. In a desire to respond to this pressure, the most accessible facilities may be utilized and the most available personnel hired. If these facilities and personnel have a primarily middle-class orientation, it is likely that the centers will, in many ways, be foreign institutions to the children of the poor. The frustration and rejection that many of these children now undergo upon exposure to the public schools is likely to be experienced at an earlier age in the child development centers. To guard against this possibility it is essential that parents have considerable influence on all decisions affecting their children.

Establishing child development centers will, of course, involve substantial amounts of money. The Senate bill authorizes $2 billion for the first year alone. The likelihood that mothers freed from child care responsibilities for training and employment could even earn enough to assume the full responsibility of paying for the services supplied to their children is slight. It would, in fact, probably be less expensive in the short run simply to continue to maintain the mothers and their children through public assistance. In the long run, however, the potential value of these centers far outweighs the cost of their implementation. In light of the many problems faced by children from poor families, a child care program that combines medical care, cultural enrichment, and preschool preparation has the potential to be one of the most worthwhile investments that our society could make.

The fourth characteristic type of unemployment concerns young men who are without apparent serious handicaps but who become members of the hard-core unemployed. This is the type of unemployment that the Columbus CEP tried hardest to alleviate. Why do certain young men assume a life style of unemployment while many of their contemporaries from similar circumstances do not?

Any objective observer is aware of the problems that a young black man faces when he looks for work. His skin color, his age, his inferior education, his speech patterns, and his manner of dress can all work against him when he applies for a job. In addition, he often has incomplete information about job opportunities, and lacks transportation which would enable him to meet with potential employers. If he succeeds in making it as far as an employment office, the receptionist, the application form, and the interviewer could be further barriers. Even if he succeeds in overcoming all these, he often ends up in a low-paying, low-status job where he may be rejected by his co-workers and unfairly treated by his supervisor. These, unfortunately, are the realities of life for far too many young blacks in the United States in the last third of the twentieth century. How long our society can continue to exist with more and more such young people leaving school, poorly educated, able to obtain only the poorest jobs--if they can find any at all--is a crucial question of our time. The amazing fact is not that there is considerable unemployment among young blacks but that, in the face of such conditions, a substantial majority are employed. What differentiates those who overcome these obstacles from those who do not?

The data collected in the present study indicated that those who were unemployed were unwilling to take the kinds of jobs that were available to them. This suggests a way to enhance the employment of these young men--make more attractive jobs available to them, an approach which shifts the emphasis from the individual to the labor market. Instead of trying to influence the characteristics of their clients, manpower programs should focus their efforts primarily on improving the quality of jobs that they can offer. This answer begs the question, however, by failing to give any understanding of the reasons some young men are unwilling to take the less attractive kinds of jobs that are held by most of their contemporaries. The answer to this more basic question appears to lie with the importance that a job has to an individual's sense of who he is and what his life means.

Expressive Life Style

The members of any society usually find the meaning for their lives by fulfilling the responsibilities associated with the various social roles they perform. For the vast majority of people these must be culturally approved roles if their occupants are to maintain positive feelings about their own worth--their sense of self-esteem. In the socialization process that young children undergo almost all of them develop expectations as to what kinds of behavior are associated with being an adult. Most young girls come to accept unquestioningly that their chief roles will be those of wife and mother, and young boys that they will be primarily workers and fathers. And one of the responsibilities associated with the role of father is that of providing for his family. The studies of Liebow (1967) and Rainwater (1970) indicate that these expectations are as common among "streetcorner men" and residents of urban slums as they are among the middle class.

In American society the only culturally approved roles open to significant numbers of young men that can simultaneously tie them into the general structure of society and yield recognized social identities are those of student, serviceman, and worker. Young blacks who have been raised in a poverty environment frequently are blocked from assuming any of these roles. Typically they entered school unprepared to exhibit the type of behavior the school required. The conflict between the behavior the school demanded and the behavior the children were capable of created an initial antagonism which often continued throughout their school careers. Individuals whose education experiences consist of a series of conflicts with teachers and administrators, and who are thought of as "unteachable," normally do not attain even the minimal level of academic skills required for continuation in a ghetto school. Upon leaving school such young men often find that they can neither obtain the kinds of jobs they want nor enter the armed forces. They are thus blocked from the three culturally approved roles that are appropriate to their sex and age.

For many young men holding a job--any job--seems to be very important to their sense of personal worth for they are willing to take low-paying, dead-end jobs. Greening (1971) has observed that in the ghetto holding such menial jobs frequently leads to the label of "chump" or "boy." For an individual to retain a low-level job in the face of such negative evaluation, he must be supported by a family or peer group that places a strong positive evaluation on the value of hard work. The young men who lack such support must seek other ways to define who they are.

Those young men who are unwilling to take any job that is available appear to find a meaning for their life in what Rainwater (1970) calls the expressive life style. Rainwater believes that when an individual is blocked from assuming conventional roles, he seeks to find an identity--a meaning for himself that other people recognize--through interaction with his peers. In response to his own needs and on the basis of the options available in his culture an expressive style evolves. The expressive style emphasizes some personal characteristic such as the ability to "hustle" other people, or to "joan" (play word games). But since attaining a valid identity is an interpersonal process, the individual must be capable of performing the actions appropriate to his announced identity. If he cannot do so, he will not receive the recognition from others that confirms that identity. And, often, the behavior required by the expressive life style is incompatible with the performance of an occupational role.

The individual who affirms who and what he is through his identity among his peers has less time and energy for the performance of conventional occupational roles. When such a person gets a job through an agency such as CEP, that job does not immediately become the focus of his life. If the demands of the job conflict with his expressive life style, the job often will be abandoned. Sometimes this conflict will show up in absenteeism or tardiness; it can also be reflected as insubordination to supervisors or irresponsibility. Although each of these might be cited as the "reason" a person left a job, the underlying reason may actually be the conflict between the demands of the expressive life style through which the individual achieves his sense of identity and the demands of the job.

The individual whose primary identity is achieved as a worker subordinates other demands in his life to his job; the individual whose primary identity is achieved through peer group interaction subordinates job demands to those of his expressive style. The typical low-level job that is available to a young unemployed black does not offer enough incentive for him to change his life style. Such jobs are not sufficiently rewarding for the individual to undergo a change in his own concept of who he is. The issue is one of how important holding a job is to the individual. Most people in our society must be employed if they are to maintain their self-esteem; they achieve their identities through their work. The individual to whom holding a job has this importance will give up other things in his life and will put up with disagreeable working conditions to maintain his job. The individual whose evaluation of his own worth comes from sources other than work will not give up the other things so easily, and these can conflict with keeping a job.

Changes in the sources of one's sense of identity help to explain the "settling down" that young males often demonstrate as they move into their middle and late twenties. There are many factors which act to bring about this settling down. In some cases the individual simply stops seeking a "good" job and decides to take what he can get. This decision may be associated with a drop in job aspirations or an increase in responsibilities. As the individual becomes more experienced in the labor market his desires as to the type of job he would like to obtain may be replaced by a more realistic appraisal of what is available to a person with his skills and background. Job conditions that in the past may have caused him to seek something better may be accepted when he realizes that there are just not many better jobs available to him. Increased responsibilities, usually a wife and children, also cause many young men to stay with jobs.

As the individual assumes a life style that conforms more closely to the traditional cultural model, his concept of who he is as a person also changes. He begins to see himself less in terms of his expressive style and more as a worker and husband. This change in his self-perception is often accomplished by a decrease in the influence of the peer group. The individual no longer seeks his primary recognition from his peers; rather, he seeks it from himself and from his family as he fulfills a culturally valued role.

If, however, the individual is unable to obtain a job with a salary sufficient for him to provide for himself and his family, or if his employment is interrupted by factors beyond his control, his attempts to assume a traditional occupational identity will be frustrated. His importance and respect in his own home will be in jeopardy. The individual may then return to an expressive style in a peer group, such as the street-corner society described by Liebow (1967), to receive an affirmation of his worth as a person.

Jobs that offer sufficient incentive to induce a transition from the expressive life style to an identity as a worker thus seem to be a basic element in overcoming this cause of unemployment. This conclusion, however, focuses on the main dilemma that faces manpower programs for poverty populations. To be successful such programs must provide better jobs than their clients can obtain in the labor market normally available to them. If a manpower program succeeds in making more attractive jobs available, as the Columbus CEP seemed to do, the expressive life style of the program clients, which formerly prevented them from obtaining such jobs, often makes it difficult for the clients to retain these jobs. In the secondary labor market described by Doeringer (1969), in which poor people commonly hold jobs, an expressive life style is not a barrier to the inferior jobs that are available; it is a handicap in the primary labor market of more attractive jobs. If a manpower program succeeds in placing clients with expressive styles in more attractive jobs, the clients do not immediately undergo a change in identity from that of their expressive life styles to that of worker. A period of transition is necessary during which the expressive style can be expected to conflict with the behavior required of a worker. During this period accommodation will be necessary on the part of both the worker and his employer. Some techniques for managing this transition will be suggested following a discussion of the employer's perspective on the problems created by such conflict.

Employer Perspective

The roster of firms which listed jobs with the Columbus CEP included most of the major employers in the city. There can be little question that the efforts of the National Alliance of Businessmen and the CEP's own job development staff succeeded in broadening the labor market for the average CEP participant and made jobs more accessible. Many employers made major changes in their hiring criteria that made jobs available from which most participants would have previously been barred because they lacked various educational, personal, or prior experience qualifications. A recent study by Diamond and Bedrosian (1970) has demonstrated that such criteria have often been set with little regard for the qualifications necessary for adequate job performance.

Although employers were willing to open their hiring gates to CEP referrals there was little evidence that they made internal changes in their operations to accommodate the new hires. Only two of the employers interviewed said that they had made any changes in the actual job tasks to make it possible to hire CEP referrals. Among the few companies that did relax their standards regarding tardiness, absenteeism, or production, the evidence suggests that they had poorer retention of workers referred by CEP than companies which maintained their standards but explained them carefully to new workers.

One-quarter of the employers interviewed (21 of 81) said they provided special training for the CEP hires. In most cases, however, this training was limited to company orientation, the type of work habits that were expected, and specific job instructions. The information obtained from the CEP participants confirmed the results of the employer interviews. One-third of the participants reported receiving some training, but this was mainly on-the-job instruction. Only about 10 percent received any formal training away from the job.

These data lead to considerable skepticism about proposals to aid the employability of the hard-to-employ by making work patterns more congenial to their life styles. Such proposals usually involve decreased emphasis on punctuality and regular attendance, and a less structured work environment which provides more opportunity for the workers to interact. Changes of this sort would be difficult to arrange in most firms, and it seems unlikely that any significant number of employers would be willing to adopt such policies. A major concern of many employers cooperating with the Columbus CEP, when they considered hiring hard-core unemployed, was the effect this practice would have on their regular employees. They thought that a double standard of acceptable conduct might develop or, even worse, that if lower standards were acceptable for the hard-core, the other employees might demand a similar relaxation of rules. Although only seven employers reported that relaxing standards did create a problem with their regular employees, these seven represented almost one-fourth of the twenty-nine employers who relaxed standards. The other employers interviewed (64%) did not relax any of their regular standards.

The results that were most indicative of employers' reluctance to change their usual procedures were obtained from responses to the questions about the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) program. Under JOBS an employer can be reimbursed for any extraordinary expenses associated with employing and training workers who would not normally qualify for employment. Virtually all of the employers interviewed (75 of 81) had heard of JOBS, but only seven had JOBS contracts. Almost all of the other sixty-eight had decided that they did not want to become involved with the government. Some said their companies were too small or lacked the resources, but the prevailing tone of the responses indicated that these employers did not want the paper work, red tape, and interference they thought a government contract would involve. If employers were reluctant to become involved even when they would be reimbursed, it seems unlikely that many would experiment with variable hours and starting times, unconventional work environments, and other similar suggestions. It should be recalled that the hard-to-employ represent only a small fraction of the work force of most employers. These employers are naturally resistant to making significant changes in their operations to accommodate this minority.

Achieving an Accommodation

While it is unrealistic to expect employers to make major modifications in their employment policies to accommodate a small proportion of their work force, it is equally unrealistic to expect that as soon as an individual with an expressive life style obtains a good job he will acquire an identity as a worker and demonstrate the reliable behavior expected of him in this role. A period of accommodation is necessary on both sides, during which the employer should be willing to tolerate some deviation from what is normally expected of workers as the employee tries to modify his expressive life style to meet the requirements of the job. Manpower programs could enhance their effectiveness with employers by helping them to manage this period of transition.

Employer Policies. Most manpower programs in the past have emphasized changing the personal characteristics, attitudes, or skills of their participants, and have done relatively little to modify the labor market in which these participants must obtain their jobs. The results of this study indicate that if a program can offer attractive jobs it will have little difficulty recruiting participants. And for the most part the participants in this study did not need extensive supportive services to prepare them for employment. What they needed was assistance in adjusting to their jobs after they obtained them. To help in this adjustment it is recommended that, for each job for which referrals from a manpower program are hired, a schedule of behavioral goals be developed with regard to attendance, punctuality, and production. The development of the schedule should be a joint task of the employer and the manpower agency, with each party contributing its own expertise. Each level of expected behavior should be clearly defined and a monetary incentive should be provided when the level is achieved. The overall goal of each schedule should be to bring every worker to regular performance levels and full pay as soon as he demonstrates his reliability and his ability to do the job.

This proposal would not be as difficult to implement as most which attempt to accommodate the work place to the worker. Most firms that have piece-rate incentive systems have differential standards for new workers. A learning period is provided during which they are not expected to produce as much as experienced workers. Usually a base rate of pay is guaranteed and the trainee is allowed a specified period of time in which to reach the standard rate. After attaining the standard, the worker must continue to produce at this rate to maintain his pay.

In most firms it should be possible to establish a similar system for referrals from manpower programs. Initially these hires would not have to meet regular standards of attendance, punctuality, or production, but neither would they receive full pay. To reach full pay a series of performance goals could be specified, the goals to be stated in units that the worker can understand and measure himself. He could be told that as he performed for a specified period at each level his pay would be adjusted to the rate for that level. The individual should be allowed to progress as fast as he can to the full pay level.

Under such a system the supervisor would no longer have the conflicting demands of showing special consideration for the special hires while at the same time obtaining full production from them. He would be in a position to assume a more helpful personal approach to these workers and thereby provide the support that seems to be an element in their retention. The supervisor's performance, in turn, could be evaluated not only by the output of his unit but also by the number of special hires he retained and brought to full production status. A plan such as this could be limited to new hires who did not meet the usual selection criteria and, therefore, would not require modification of basic company procedures. Employers would thus be more likely to accept it.

This proposal draws upon three of the major findings regarding the job adjustment of workers placed by the Columbus CEP. First, it offers a moderate starting wage together with the opportunity for fairly rapid increase. This was the combination the regression analysis indicated had statistically significant association with job retention. Second, it provides a specific schedule that relates the worker's efforts to the rewards he receives from his employer. The factor analysis of the job ratings indicated that the former CEP participants did not see this relationship. The proposed plan spells it out so that each worker is aware of it. Third, this plan would allow the supervisor to emphasize the supportive aspects of his job and de-emphasize the pressure aspects.

Although the job climate ratings could explain very little of the variability in the job retention of former CEP participants, there was some evidence that the employed and unemployed regarded their supervisors somewhat differently. In comparison to the employed participants the unemployed reported they did not have as good a relationship with the supervisors on their last-held jobs and saw these men as significantly less supportive and more "pushy." The intercorrelations of the job climate ratings clearly indicated that supervision correlated highly with many of the other aspects of the jobs. It is impossible to tell which factor causes which in a correlation, but a case could be made that to the rank-and-file worker his supervisor is the main embodiment of the company. The way a supervisor acts toward a worker can determine to a large degree the worker's overall perceptions of how the company acts toward him.

The factor analysis of the measures of job climate revealed that all the ratings of supervision from unemployed participants comprised one factor. For the employed participants and the co-workers, however, the ratings of supervisors constituted two separate factors, one referring to general relationships with supervisors, or support, and the other referring to supervisor pressure. The support factor accounted for the largest proportion of the variability in the intercorrelations of the job climate measures.

These two factors are quite similar to two dimensions of supervisory behavior that have received considerable research attention. Although they have been given various labels, such as consideration versus initiation and democratic versus authoritarian (cf. Vroom, 1964), the essential ideas underlying the labels are much the same. The main theme of these dichotomies is the degree to which a supervisor emphasizes people or production. One supervisory style is concerned primarily with the worker. Typically, it puts a strong emphasis on communicating with subordinates, explaining the reasons behind decisions, soliciting advice and suggestions, listening to workers' complaints, and so on. The production emphasis, in contrast, is usually depicted as unresponsive to subordinates as people; the emphasis is "put out or get out." It is concerned with meeting quotas, arranging schedules, and minimizing costs and mistakes. Under this supervisory style it is expected that orders will be obeyed without question.

Most supervisors demonstrate both types of behavior in response to the demands put upon them, and it appears that the co-workers and the employed participants recognized these two dimensions. In other words, the employed participants and the co-workers seemed to differentiate between their supervisors when they were interacting on a personal basis and their supervisors when they were carrying out the responsibilities of their roles as supervisors. The unemployed participants did not make this distinction. As a result, when they were criticized or asked to work harder, they were inclined to interpret this criticism or order on a personal basis. Given the emphasis on interpersonal relationships to individuals with expressive life styles, the worker who feels challenged by his supervisor would be more inclined to leave a threatening situation. The proposed plan, by decreasing the emphasis on production, would allow the supervisors to strengthen the supportive aspects of their behavior.

Enhancing the Employability of Participants. This discussion has stressed altering the job environment in which a manpower program participant is placed more so than altering the characteristics of the participants because so many manpower programs have emphasized changing the participant rather than the job. It is obvious, however, that many of the young men with expressive life styles must change some aspects of their behavior to increase their attractiveness to employers. It appears that the judgment of the CEP staff was accurate when they assigned the less job-ready participants to the orientation program, for those who attended orientation were employed less than the other participants following CEP. Although the staff was correct in assigning the less employable to orientation there was relatively little in this program which enhanced employability. There was some discussion of "You and Your Job," but this was definitely secondary to the "consciousness raising" and racial pride emphasis of ethnic history.

An orientation program could, however, serve to prepare the hard-to-employ for the changes in personal habits that will be necessary if they are to retain regular employment. This could be done by setting performance standards in the orientation program that are similar to the standards the individual will encounter on the job. Punctuality and attendance goals could be set and financial incentives provided for meeting these goals. In the Columbus CEP some of the training stipend was withheld for excessive lateness or absenteeism, but there were no incentives for the desired behavior.

The orientation program could also make a positive contribution by helping its participants understand the role and responsibilities of supervisors. The preceding discussion has indicated that for former CEP participants attitudes toward supervisors were closely associated with attitudes toward the total company. It has also been suggested that the average CEP participant had an undifferentiated view of supervision in which criticisms or requests for more production were likely to be interpreted on a personal basis. An orientation program could include training in how to get along with different types of supervisors. This training should aim to help the participants distinguish between their personal relationships with supervisors and the demands that their supervisors must make of them because of the nature of the supervisors' jobs. In other words, it should assist in the development of an understanding of the requirements of the supervisor's job. If the participants develop such an understanding they should be less likely to view contacts with their supervisors as interpersonal contests and potential threats to their sense of personal worth.

Another point concerning supervision that could be stressed in an orientation-to-work program is the importance supervisors place on the effort that workers demonstrate. The intercorrelations of supervisors' ratings of worker performance indicated that the rating of effort--"How much of the time on the job does this worker try to do his (her) very best work?"--had considerable relationship with almost all the other ratings. This means that if a worker was seen as really trying to do his job, he was likely to be viewed positively on all other aspects of his performance. Conversely, if the worker was seen as loafing or not trying, all of his behavior was likely to be viewed negatively. These correlations suggest that effort--even more than actual performance--is the key to a good relationship with supervisors. An orientation-to-work program should try to impress its participants with the importance that effort has on a supervisor's perceptions of a worker's performance.

An orientation program could provide another needed service to its participants by attempting to increase their knowledge of occupations and by providing opportunities for vocational exploration. Too often the vocational counseling which the hard-to-employ undergo in manpower programs is conducted in an informational vacuum. Most participants really do not know what kinds of jobs they want, except that they desire something better than they have held in the past. Since they seem to define better jobs primarily in terms of higher rates of pay, the major effort of manpower programs should be to make available jobs that pay better than those the participants could get on their own. Once employers willing to offer such jobs are located, ways of exposing participants to the jobs should be instituted. These would involve primarily visits to the work sites, but could be supplemented with films, discussions with workers from different occupations, and access to printed vocational information. This exposure would allow participants to make more informed choices among the job alternatives offered by the manpower program. Assisting the participants to select among alternatives should tend to increase their feelings of commitment to the choices they make. Exposure to job conditions prior to choice should also reduce somewhat the shock of exposure to the whirling confusion that new employees often experience when they enter a workplace--particularly a manufacturing plant--for the first time.

In conclusion it appears that, for those individuals who have found some meaning for their lives in expressive life styles, jobs that are better than they can normally get are necessary to induce a change to a more traditional worker identity. Such changes will not occur overnight, but if there is sufficient flexibility on the part of employers and the jobs offer real incentive, the development of worker identities is possible.

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APPENDIX A-1

The Supervision of Indigenous Interviewers[1]

We feel it would be beneficial to other researchers to discuss the use of indigenous workers to conduct follow-up interviewing in a project concerned with improving employment. Researchers in poverty programs often experience difficulties in locating and communicating with their subjects, difficulties that must be overcome if the project is to be successful. For our data collection we hired actual CEP participants as interviewers, believing that they had a natural advantage in locating, communicating with, and gaining the cooperation of members of our study group. We also benefited from their understanding of cultural behavioral patterns of other participants. The interviewers' jobs entailed following up former CEP participants, and conducting one to one and one-half hour interviews that included the administration of some rather complex psychological measures. Our experiences in this part of the project lasted for about two years. Perhaps they can be best discussed by explaining the rationale for activities in each phase of data collection.

Along with the advantages, there were some disadvantages in using CEP participants as interviewers. First, data collection was initially designed to last for only six months, which meant interviewers could only be employed for this period of time. (Funding of the follow-up phase extended the project for almost two years, but initial projections were only for six months.) Since the objective of the CEP was to find permanent employment for its enrollees, their use as interviewers in a short-term project was in conflict with CEP's major goal. Although we could not provide it, enrollees needed long-term employment and due to their prior unemployment were in a poor position to tolerate interruptions in meaningful work experiences. In contrast, the short-term interviewing that was offered could more appropriately satisfy employment needs of middle-class housewives or students who would not need long-term commitments. These problems, if not adequately handled, could further strain the traditionally stressful relationship that exists between operations and research.

At any rate, with a combination of sincere negotiation and good fortune, we eventually reconciled the problems. The CEP director at the time the research started, Don Tate, fortunately recognized the need for our research project and facilitated its integration into the regular CEP operation. Most important, we acknowledged the problems inherent in our approach and took reasonable steps to rectify them. We assured the CEP administration that interviewers would receive an acceptable salary and that we would assist them in finding future employment in similar capacities. We also pointed out the temporary nature of the work to prospective interviewers before they agreed to become members of our staff. This, we felt, would help us recruit those workers who could best handle employment uncertainties. By no means did these measures completely solve our problems; in fact, newer ones were uncovered that inevitably required our attention. We knew that part of our time would be used in job development and that our interviewers' attention would be divided between the research project and their future employment. These extra commitments and problems further complicated the task of building an efficient staff to conduct quality interviewing in an already limited period of time. Nevertheless, our efforts were appreciated and the reconciliation of our interests and those of the CEP staff produced a strong, honest relationship.

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[1] This appendix was written by David N. Hughes, who acted as research coordinator for the project. His duties included liaison with the Columbus CEP and direct supervision of the interviewers. The views presented are personal and represent his conception of the appropriate approach for working with indigenous interviewers.

Selecting Interviewers

Before choosing our staff, we realized that job retention has always been a problem for individuals who use programs such as CEP to find employment. Turnover for these workers has been as high as 50 to 60 percent in spite of efforts designed to reduce it. It was with these statistics in mind that the number of indigenous interviewers was chosen. Although we estimated that five well-trained, full-time interviewers were necessary to accomplish our data collection goal, we planned to hire and train ten people to allow for the expected turnover. Of course the reduction of turnover was one of the ultimate purposes of the research project. Thus the adjustment problems of the interviewers themselves would afford an opportunity to gain firsthand experiences with some of the problems that would be eventually exposed.

In selecting the staff, no references were made to an individual's previous work history, police record, or any of the characteristics generally attributed to the chronically unemployed. However, certain criteria were adhered to. Interviewers had to be able to read, write, and communicate well orally. In addition they had to have personal characteristics that would be effective in eliciting cooperation from other CEP participants. There was no rigid standard set for these criteria. The overall adequacy of the interviewers was left entirely to the judgment of the resident coordinator.

Before conducting personal interviews with prospects, the coordinator capitalized on the opportunity to see enrollees in a group situation. He attended the ethnic history classes because they encouraged discussion of issues that were naturally sensitive to the group's members. There was usually enough enthusiasm to evoke participation from most of those who attended. It was mainly from this class that prospective employees were chosen for employment interviews.

Personal employment interviews consisted primarily of a statement of purpose of the research project and the enrollee's reaction to it. The disadvantages of working on this project were clearly explained at an appropriate time in the interview. Finally, the enrollee was asked to fill out a personal data form in the presence of the coordinator. Such written information as name, address, age, etc. enabled the coordinator to ascertain whether the enrollee could read and write. Ten enrollees were eventually chosen to participate in orientation and training.

Training Program

One of the purposes of orientation and training was to acquaint the staff with the mechanics of interviewing, but the structure established for this purpose became an instrument for staff interaction within which many significant topics could be discussed. Staff members particularly needed an understanding of and appreciation for the research process which could serve as a source of motivation for them. They needed to know the potential impact this project could have on problems that they themselves probably had experienced in employment. We knew that they would be suspicious of their duties and of the real purpose for them. This reaction could be understood, because when isolated from the entire research process their duties were not unlike those of a policeman or other kind of investigator.

Above all, trust in the project and in each other was necessary for success; our interdependency demanded it. The interviewers were the backbone of the project; the amount and quality of data they collected would determine the validity of the final report. They would eventually have very little field supervision and many opportunities to falsify data. While our method of verifying interviews could defeat outright cheating, it was still possible for the interviewers to skip many sections of the interview schedule. In addition to developing interviewing skills, the training program was to assist us in determining the kind of administration that could best allay suspicion in the staff, provide motivation, and develop and maintain trust in the entire organization.

A detailed lesson plan was drafted, emphasizing the fundamentals of interviewing. The focus was on such topics as controlling bias, communication, and frame of reference. Explanations of the research process and its social relevancy were recurring themes. There was also time for digression to topics such as race and other social issues that were emotionally charged. Discussions on these topics were encouraged and sometimes took precedence over the fundamentals. They were used to enhance interaction and foster interpersonal relationships among members of the group. Free expressions of anger, fear, likes, and dislikes were necessarily a part of the development of understanding and trust among staff members. And as trust develops in a group, most investigators should expect such expressions. Many teaching techniques were employed. Lectures, guest speakers, role playing, and group discussions were all appropriately matched with our objectives. For example, while lectures and visual aids were useful for theoretical presentations, role playing and group discussions increased group interaction. All of the techniques focused on our subject matter; and used interchangeably they reduced boredom and provided for diversification.

The training program was as educational to the professional staff as it was to the interviewers. We all taught and we all learned in different ways. This was due largely to the caliber of staff we had assembled. By any standard the interviewers constituted a very astute, articulate group who had as much to give as they had to receive. It was not difficult to instill in them an appreciation for the project.

There was healthy dialogue and association among staff members; both in and outside of formal employment activities, they depended on one another for continuous support. The closeness in the staff was reflected by the manner in which members related to other CEP components. In these relationships, one could easily see the emergence of group identity and pride.

Development of Mutual Trust

We eventually gained the respect and trust that we had initially sought. This was achieved by allowing staff participation in decision-making, and by attempting to communicate respect for the staff. Such things as changes in paydays and suggestions for the form of the questionnaire were implemented through group discussion. Very few decisions were made without direct staff involvement or consultation. Decisions made by the administration were as subject to criticism as those made by an interviewer; however, criticism was condoned only when accompanied with plausible argument. With only that qualification the entire staff felt free to question administrative policy.

Eventually the administration carved out a model of mutual trust which would not have been possible without respectful contact with its staff. This model was understood by staff members, who displayed their willingness to reciprocate. For example, they came to accept limitation in matters that were beyond our control. Such matters as unchangeable university rules that directly affected our staff were accepted with minimum suspicion.

There were times when the limits of acceptable behavior were tested and firmness was necessary. The effort an interviewer brought to his task was considered the most important contribution he could make. Behavior regarding attendance, administrative policies, cooperation with other staff members, and--later--completed interviews enabled us to measure the effort expended by interviewers. Despite attempts to understand and sympathize with staff members, we were forced to request the resignations of two interviewers. Their repeated violations of rules and policies reflected a lack of effort which left us with no alternative. It must be mentioned that rules and policies are the outer limits of administrative permissiveness. Regardless of how they are set, once adopted, they must be enforced. When rules and policies are randomly disregarded, the result is usually a general disregard for the entire administration.

Administrative Style

Throughout the two years great pain was taken to explain our administrative expectations, especially when we felt that they were different from what the staff anticipated. It should be realized that interviewers brought with them their own sets of expectations for a work situation. They already had a preconceived model of an administration which was based on the traditional work environments of business and other bureaucratic structures. These environments allow for little trust and responsibility in employees; they operate with close supervision and limited tolerance for those who violate clearly defined rules. To employees, such structures tend to legitimize the manipulation of the limited latitude allowed, for personal benefit. These environments establish generally accepted standards of behavior which allow employers and employees to predict the other's behavior even before a relationship is established. Unexpected deviation from predictable behavior by either party can result in confusion or the emergence of attitudes that may be disruptive to the entire organization. Since we were attempting to establish a different management philosophy, it was our objective to enable the interviewers to predict our behavior regarding administrative rules and policies. This entailed both time and expense, but it was both fair and necessary that it precede rigid enforcement.

Information concerning previous work experiences was informally volunteered. Without intentional encouragement, employment background was given during formal and informal discussions that related primarily to other topics. Work experiences had generally been in environments such as those described above and none of the workers had been a part of management or supervision. Their experiences had been as line workers, and they saw administrations from that perspective. We learned their expectations of supervision by requesting their suggestions for rules and policies that would govern our administration. Suggestions were characterized by close supervision and limited tolerance for fellow workers. As was anticipated, they followed the traditional model discussed above. Most of all, their suggestions documented the gap that existed between their expectations and our administrative needs.

First of all, the traditional model did not fit the task. It implied that workers could only work when supervision was available. Unfortunately, potential respondents were not under any obligation to make themselves available. Their availability ranged from early in the morning until late at night. Completed interviews came as a result of constant pursuit. A regular 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. workday would have resulted in considerable wasted time.

There was some discussion of shift work, but this idea was turned down because of problems of supervision and the intricacies involved in the transference of assignments. There was some value in having a single interviewer stay with a lead. The interviewers knew some of their assignments and could benefit from their previous acquaintances. We also felt that the same interviewer, especially after establishing a relationship, could best deal with a suspicious enrollee, relatives, and friends.

We also considered--but ultimately rejected--the idea of payment by number of interviews completed. This arrangement could imply an administrative belief that money is the only motivation for work and negate the emphasis on individual effort as the major contribution. It could encourage falsification of interviews and reduce an interviewer's obligations for consistent effort during periods of discouragement. Such periods were inevitable, and it would be easier to give up on difficult assignments if money would be the only loss. Use of this system would punish interviewers for uncontrollable slack periods of production by forcing them to bear the entire burden for occasional bad luck and misfortune. Interviewers might adjust to making less money and consequently put forth less effort for production. A per interview rate could reduce the demands we could make of interviewers and weaken our ability to use other motivational factors such as the group's pride in its accomplishment, and the group's pressure for full participation from all its members. In our judgment, payment by number of interviews would tend to foster individualism and perhaps disruptive competition for easy assignments. It could develop a suspicious barrier of favoritism between the interviewer and the administration. Under these conditions enthusiasm would be more difficult to sustain and we would lose those who could not stand the psychological and financial pressures that could well arise.

The rules and policies finally adopted were necessarily permissive. To transform them into practice, gradual changes were introduced, and each step was thoroughly explained to the staff. The rather tight structure used during the training program was eventually replaced by a loose one that was employed during actual data collection.

Our administrative philosophy rested almost entirely on group effort with full participation expected from each member. This assured more consistent production and permitted a mixture of easy and difficult assignments to each interviewer. Since there were individual differences in the ability to complete interviews, each member was evaluated not by actual production but by the effort he demonstrated. The spirit of group cooperation that emerged minimized the concern with who got credit for what interview. Both the administration and the interviewers could legitimately demand effort from each staff member during good and poor periods of production.

Maintaining Production

There was, however, a standard for production. Although it only allowed for crude judgment of effort, it became a major indicator. First of all we hypothesized that if reasonable effort was made, interviewers could obtain an average of at least one completed interview a day, a total of five per week. When production fell below this standard, the coordinator held a personal conference with the interviewer to ascertain the reasons for poor production. The coordinator was cognizant of two possible explanations: (1) the interviewer could have been the victim of bad referrals or numerous broken appointments or (2) the interviewer himself was at fault and was not putting forth his best possible effort. When the former was offered as an explanation it was readily accepted. When the latter was the case, various other factors were considered: previous week's production, extent of the deficit, and overall attitude of the interviewer.

Lack of effort and poor attitude were generally detected long before weekly conferences with the coordinator, often during the required fifteen-minute daily conferences conducted by the coordinator's assistant. Such things as the length of time interviewers took to contact assignments--especially easy ones--and descriptions of the potential respondent's residence and obstacles to completed interviews were indications. Daily conferences were not solely for the purpose of checking the effort of interviewers, however. Additionally, they were used to prevent low staff morale and provided an opportunity to lend administrative assistance on frustrating problems. They also allowed for a formal flow of feedback information upon which regulation of the entire administration was based. For example, lack of effort could also be determined as a result of feedback from other workers who generally abhorred favoritism and did not look kindly on workers who did not carry their full load.

As a routine precautionary measure, two methods were used to check for falsification of data. A random sample was drawn from our completed interview file and respondents were again contacted by phone or home visit for verification. The other method was to compare information from the CEP files with that obtained in the interview. The interviewers were given only a portion of the personal data on CEP participants that was available from the files. The questionnaire itself called for the identical data. After the interview was completed, the two sources were compared.

No quick decisions were made about suspicious data; the coordinator and his assistant used them only to initiate an investigation. CEP records as well as our own were double-checked for possible mistakes. A conference with the interviewer was then held and a decision was made based on his reaction and what had been previously uncovered. These steps were taken because falsification of data was the most serious charge that could be leveled. If proven it was the only offense that resulted in the immediate and unconditional discharge of the worker. (Only one interviewer left the staff for this reason.)

To conduct the debriefing on the previous day's activities the interviewers had to report to the research office anytime between the hours of 8 a.m. and 12 noon. They knew they would be docked for the entire day if they did not report. In the second year, interviewers were allowed to draw up their own rules, which included provisions for sick leave and other extenuating circumstances. At any rate, the requirement for reporting to the office was retained for the total duration of the project. This rule allowed interviewers to pursue interviewees during the afternoon and evening hours without administrative interference.

FOLLOW-UP TECHNIQUES

It should be clear from the discussion thus far that we believed a sense of mutual trust between researchers and their study population is essential to the use of indigenous interviewers. Once this was established a set of fairly standard procedures was developed to guide follow-up attempts. These procedures are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Getting to Know Our Respondents

Actually, follow-up began at the time of initial contact with an enrollee, when he enrolled in the program and attended the orientation sessions. The interviewers intermingled with the enrollees and obtained information that could be relevant to follow-up. The thought behind this early acquaintance was that a short time afterwards these enrollees would be the objects of follow-up pursuit. If all other attempts at contact were ineffective, our staff would occasionally be able to recognize potential respondents on sight.

Follow-up after orientation was conducted on the assumption that all information given by enrollees during their involvement with CEP was true. While this information was not always correct, it did provide a starting point for attempts to contact the former enrollees. We also found that even when the information was not correct, there were consistent patterns in it. To understand how these patterns were useful it is necessary to describe some of the characteristics of the enrollees.

The CEP enrollment consisted of a highly diversified group of people. But in spite of the diversification, certain characteristics were common to almost all of the enrollees. First of all, most underwent frequent changes in residence. During one month they might be living on the east side of the city and during the next they could be somewhere else. Because enrollees felt no obligation to report changes in residences to CEP after they left the program, addresses given while they attended CEP were often invalid six months later. Reasons for frequency in movement were many and varied. Many of the young did not have a regular residence; others sometimes moved because of an eviction notice, or to avoid payment of the next month's rent. Additional reasons included pressure from the law, family desertion, and upward mobility. We soon recognized that several types of addresses were being reported. Frequently, enrollees gave addresses of persons they considered stable friends or relatives with whom they maintained communication. To them, these addresses were points of contact, used to send and receive mail, messages, and other communications. An enrollee could be known to all of the occupants at a contact address or to just one significant person. Some enrollees had actually lived at the contact addresses at one time or another. It was not irregular for occupants at the contact addresses to move, but they did so less often than enrollees.

The second common characteristic was that all enrollees were in financial poverty (a fact which was naturally verified by their participation in

CEP). This allowed us to eliminate the more affluent sections of the city from our search. We also established cooperative relationships with other agencies, such as the Franklin County Welfare Department, that had the specific objective of serving the poor. It was possible that they might have a file on the enrollees or their families or might have had more recent contact with them.

The third characteristic common to almost all of the enrollees was race. Ninety-five percent were black and lived mainly in those areas of the city with high concentrations of low-income black residences. This meant that we could capitalize on low-income black cultural patterns with which our interviewers were naturally familiar. An understanding of the kinds of community involvement of the potential respondents (favorite bars, stores, sports activities, etc.) was an asset in attempting to locate them. It was with the above characteristics in mind that directions were given to our interviewers.

Initial Contacts

To begin the follow-up, interviewers were given referral slips that contained data that could only be considered as leads. The information consisted of the name of an assignment, an address, the date of CEP enrollment, and enough space to record the descriptions of the results the interviewer had during at least six attempts to make contact. The phone number was usually the first lead to be tried, and it very rarely resulted in immediate contact. Typical negative answers were phone no longer in service, wrong number, or the person was no longer living at that address. When the phone was no longer in service, the operator's assistance was requested. The person who owned the phone could have moved and been given a different number, which the operator could provide. When this was not the case, the criss-cross directory[2] was consulted for any useful match of phone number, street address, and name. When we were told that the person sought no longer lived at the address, the address of the person contacted was verified and matched with the address on the referral slip. From this party any additional information about the whereabouts of the former enrollee was solicited. The verification and matching of addresses were done to determine the necessity of a home visit, and to ascertain whether the address was the enrollee's actual residence or a contact address.

The next lead checked was the address. It became more important if a phone number was not available or if in our phone check we had discovered that the phone number did not match the address. It is important to note that in checking addresses and phone numbers we were not only looking for enrollees but for contact addresses. If the address we had was not the residence of the enrollee, we asked the present occupant for any information that would help to locate the people who had occupied the dwelling at the time the enrollee had listed the address with CEP. A former resident could have been the enrollee himself or someone with whom he maintained communication. Before leaving the area, our interviewers contacted the occupants on both sides of the dwelling in question. Sometimes we were able to draw upon observations of inquisitive neighbors. The next-door neighbors sometimes were close friends, or, if the enrollee we sought had children and his former neighbors had children in similar age groups, we had grounds to expect excellent leads. Children bring families together, and they rarely leave one another without preparations for future meetings. Most often, either the parent or the child would know where a playmate could be reached.

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[2] The criss-cross directory was a valuable reference for follow-up and its use was not restricted to telephone contacts. It was used at any point during our pursuits if it was necessary to verify or match a name or address or a phone number.

If no one answered the door on the first visit, at least five more attempts were made, staggering the times of the home visit. Each successful visit, to a minimum of six, was reported to the assistant coordinator. The maximum number of visits was based mainly on the judgment of the interviewer, with some suggestions from the assistant coordinator.

Whenever anyone was contacted, we sought information about the former enrollee such as reasons for moving, size of family, and the names of landlords, relatives, and friends. Former occupants who would have known an enrollee might be listed in the phone book or might be registered with other agencies with which we had a relationship. The school board, for example, maintains a record of school-age children and their families who transfer from one school district to another. Information on family size was helpful to identify families registered with the Welfare Department. Information of this nature was already available in CEP files on the enrollees themselves but not for the people whom the enrollees listed as their contact addresses. It was hoped that wherever these people were located they could tell us how to contact the former enrollee. When we had no other leads, even the size of the former dwelling was better than nothing. A typical example would be an enrollee whose former landlord told us only that he once lived at the address and his reason for moving. If the occupant had moved without paying his rent and if the dwelling was a large one and somewhat run-down, it was reasonable to conclude that the occupants had had financial problems. A single person or a couple would hardly have need for a large dwelling, but a larger family with children would. It would be worth the effort to continue our search. The Metropolitan Housing Authority would be contacted because the need for decent housing was documented. The Board of Education could be contacted in hopes that the family had school-age children. Finally, the Welfare Department would be consulted because poor families with and without school-age children qualified for assistance. Many of these attempts were, of course, unsuccessful, for the individual being sought might have been single and living with a large family or even sharing a home with several other young men. Nevertheless, these attempts produced enough leads that periodic lists of names were submitted to appropriate agencies.

If the interviewers had little or no success in their attempts, the referral slips were returned to the office for review. Depending on the judgment of the assistant coordinator, the name was either reassigned or placed on our "hard to find list." We reassigned many referrals, particularly if some contact had been made and the reason for the failure was suspected to be lack of cooperation. The interviewers differed in their abilities to gain cooperation from different kinds of people. One interviewer might be able to relate well to older people, while another might be effective with the young. Some interviewers responded well to the challenge of obtaining the cooperation of a reluctant respondent. These differences were employed to their best advantage by switching assignments.

The Hard to Find

The function of the "hard to find list" was based on the fact that enrollees had shared a common experience. The relationships among enrollees established during training could be valuable sources of follow-up information if some of the parties concerned were located. We knew that by assigning interviews of enrollees who attended CEP at the same time some of those interviewed might know others being sought and could furnish information about those whom we could not locate.

The hard to find list was developed primarily from names of enrollees interviewers could not locate. It consisted of the name of the enrollee, his last known address, and his CEP entry date. This information was necessary to conduct an interview when the enrollee was found. After the list was originally prepared, additions and deletions were regularly posted. Interviewers were instructed to show the list to every respondent after they had completed an interview. Respondents were asked to provide us with information about any names on the list that were familiar to them. In addition to giving information about acquaintances made in CEP, a number of interviewees assisted us with names they recognized from high school, their neighborhood, social activities, and so forth.

The list was also used to verify the need for interviews when the interviewers recognized former participants who were being sought. Such identifications were often made on the streets, in bars, and in other such places while interviewers conducted work and personal business. CEP officials who handled reentries and counselors who were likely to maintain contact with enrollees after they were terminated were also given the list. Finally, it was given to agencies and friends outside of CEP who assisted in our follow-up. For instance, a few of the service centers run by the CEP sponsor had lists, and we were fortunate enough to get one inside the county workhouse.

The research coordinator was directly responsible for the hard to find list. Each time a name was added a descriptive report of unsuccessful attempts was made to him. He then made one other home visit and telephone call to minimize the possibility of personality clashes and to gain the benefits of another person's observations. The lists sent to cooperating agencies were selectively drawn from the hard to find list. In every case, the function and objectives of the agency were considered as well as its relationship to the individual circumstances of the referral.

One useful procedure was not utilized as fully as it should have been. When we came to realize that the CEP files did not provide sufficient follow-up leads, personal data sheets were left with the CEP receptionist to be filled out by applicants for CEP during their first contact with the program. The receptionist handled these data sheets because she saw all new CEP applicants. Our data sheet differed from the CEP application because it was particularly tailored for long-term follow-up purposes. It requested names, addresses, and phone numbers of friends or relatives who could be second sources of contact. This information supplemented the personal data provided by the CEP central records. Unfortunately, the introduction of this procedure was poorly timed. We did not perceive the need for the procedure until the final stages of the first phase of the project. It was implemented in the beginning of the second phase but its benefit was not realized until the six-month period covered by the follow-up interviews had passed. In addition, during the entire second year CEP's intake was severely limited so few enrollees filled out our data sheets.

Some other possible resources were explored but not actively pursued. Informal communications had been established with personnel in the utilities companies. With the cooperation of these companies, the movement of some families could be charted from their transactions for such necessities as electric, gas, and telephone services. However, no aggressive attempts were made to develop these companies as resources after we learned that negotiations for this purpose would be intricate and time consuming.

While we completed a few interviews in the workhouse, no special arrangements were made with the police department, the courts, or the city or county jails. We relied mainly on channels available to the public at large for the dispositions on enrollees incarcerated by these institutions. On the other hand, the workhouse was used for less serious crimes and our contacts there screened for cooperative interviewers. But even this resource was used in a limited way because of our success with other procedures. However, we did gain the cooperation of lawyers and parole and probation officers for enrollees who had been released.

The Hardest to Find

Before leaving this section of our discussion, we should turn our attentions to the enrollees who we felt were the most difficult of all to locate. These enrollees were characterized by either not having any stabilizing responsibilities, or by not recognizing and responding to those they had. This group mostly included the extremely mobile youth and those enrollees who were excessively dependent on alcohol or drugs. After repeated failures in attempting to contact these individuals with our usual procedures, it became obvious that different approaches were needed. But we were able to observe few behavioral patterns that were consistent enough to become the basis for a reliable procedure. Thus it must be acknowledged that at the conclusion of the project our efforts in this area were still highly experimental. The following should be taken in light of its experimental nature.

First, all of the usual procedures were used whenever they could be reasonably applied. Next, we viewed the activities of these people in terms of the behavior of the members of their individual reference groups. For example, instead of concentrating on specific addresses, we searched out major points of congregation for specific groups. To further illustrate, if our information indicated the individual being sought was addicted to wine, we naturally sought him at points where habitual wine drinkers congregated. These points are usually in close proximity to wine retailers. Since the members of this group are consistently among the ranks of the unemployed, they often lack the money to carry on their style of living. Their psychological dependency motivates their participation in activities that yield the quickest financial gain. The amount of money sought is usually the price of a specific quantity of wine. Since this amount is small, their activities are usually directed toward street-corner solicitation for even smaller sums of money from many people until the desired amount is accumulated. Hence, points of congregation are usually near retailers, and close to street corners that are lucrative for street solicitations. These corners should be fairly well traveled by more affluent people, and they must be ones on which group members are comfortable and are not the victims of excessive harrassment. The permanence of these locations is obviously contingent on the number of rewarding experiences that are realized. At the more permanent locations, members have generally gained the acceptance of most of the corner's occupants. Thus, not only are group members known to retailers, but over a period of time they establish relationships with other occupants in the same area.

There are reasons other than the distinguishing dependency on wine that constitute group bonds. We should not forget that these human beings have other needs that can be most comfortably satisfied among their own group members. The need to socialize can be satisfied without condemnation among group members. A member can be better understood by his group than by a relative or an old friend with a different style of life. In other words, the group has its own culture which is tailored to fit the needs of its members. When members are not together for financial pursuits, they are together in other social activities.

It should be clear by now that this experimental approach placed greater emphasis on group behavior than on an individual focus based on personal leads provided by CEP files. Because those we sought were likely to congregate at particular locations, our task was to influence the people at these locations to our advantage. If we could induce the cooperation of the retailer or other corner occupants familiar with our enrollee, we should eventually make contact with him. With the proper incentive we hoped it would not be necessary to have an interviewer constantly present. We left the hard to find list and made a firm commitment of payment for their assistance to retailers and other strategic persons. We also promised that the respondent being sought would be paid for the completed interview. Unfortunately, only two or three of the contact people and just a few of the enrollees were motivated by the promise of money. They were generally more responsive to a demonstration of sincere but harmless interest in the individual being sought. We finally found some members of this group living in parked cars, in condemned buildings with other group members, and some with no "residences" at all.

The idea of being present at places enrollees frequented was also applied to other groups. But to identify these places or points required knowledge of the community and specific culture patterns. For instance, we found that youthful groups, especially between the ages of about 18 and 25, still regularly participated in athletic activities, mainly basketball. Four major locations were identified where these activities were carried on in the community. Fortunately, officials at some of these locations conducted formal athletic programs. They often had the names of members of participating teams, and specific times that the teams would use their facilities. Different places such as bars, pool halls, and restaurants were also checked depending on the description of the enrollees sought and the type of people these places served.

Although some benefit was derived from these experiments, much of our success was attributed to just plain luck, and we will retain this opinion until a more reliable systematic explanation is advanced. Therefore, we encourage experimentation of this nature by other researchers in hopes that more sound procedures will be developed.

In conclusion, the functional advantages of using indigenous interviewers fulfilled our expectations. Additionally, this coordinator could never adequately express his appreciation for the many added benefits received from his association with this excellent group of people. How can one describe the sensation experienced from the particularly favorable way the entire staff reacted to project crises or, more specifically, to the long, sad face of this coordinator? My hat is off to any staff that is better.

APPENDIX B-1

Post-Program Interview Schedule for CEP Participants

(Listed below are the main questions asked respondents. The spaces for recording answers and some of the instructions to interviewers have been deleted.)

INTRODUCTION: I am working for The Pennsylvania State University. We are contacting people who have taken part in the Columbus Concentrated Employment Program to find out some of their experiences in it and their attitude toward it. All of your answers are confidential. They will not be shown to anyone with the CEP, and they will be combined into tables so that one person's answers can never be identified.

First Contact

1. How did you happen to hear about CEP?

   (IF NOT COACH-RECRUITER) a. Did you talk with a coach-recruiter before you went to CEP for the first time?
   IF YES (ALSO, IF 1ST CONTACT COACH) b. Where did you talk with the recruiter?

2. When you first heard of CEP, were you interested in finding out more about it?

   Yes___ → a. How did you try to find out more?
   No ___ → b. What happened to make you more interested?

3. What were you told that the CEP had to offer? (PUT IN NUMBERS IN ORDER MENTIONED)

Intake

4. About how long was it after you heard about CEP before you went to the office?

5. What were you most interested in getting from CEP when you went there the first time?

   a. Was there some particular type of work you were interested in?

6. Did you know anyone in CEP the first time you went to sign up?

   a. Who was that?

7. Did anyone you know come to sign up with you?

   a. Did that other person take part in any of the programs?

8. The first day you visited the CEP office, how did you feel the people who worked there acted toward you?

9. Of all the people you talked with the first day, was there anyone you felt was really pleasant?

   a. Who was that?

10. Was there anyone who offended you?

    a. How were you offended?

11. If it were up to you, was there anything during that first day that you would change?

    (IF NOT MENTIONED) a. Do you think there is anything that could be improved in the processing procedure?

Forms-Interviews-Testing

12. Just as a rough guess, how many forms do you think you filled out while you were in CEP?_____(GET A NUMBER)

13. Did you feel these were necessary?

    a. Which ones did you feel were unnecessary?

14. About how many interviews do you think you had while you were in CEP?_____

15. Did these bother you in any way?

    a. In what ways?

16. Did you take any tests while you were connected with CEP?

    a. Did it bother you to take these?
    b. In what ways did it bother you?
    c. Do you think these tests show what you can really do?
    c. Why not?

Orientation

17. Did you go to the two-week program where they talked about jobs, ethnic history, budgeting, and so on?

    Yes___ (CONTINUE WITH Q18)
    NO ___ (SKIP TO Q21)

18. There are five general areas in the program. I'll mention the area, and I would like you to give me your opinion of it.

    a. Ethnic history
    b. Personal grooming
    c. Job orientation
    d. Consumer education
    e. Basic education

19. Was there anything about the instructors for these areas that you particularly liked or disliked?

20. Do you feel these two weeks prepared you in any way to get a job?

    a. In what ways?

Employment Counseling

21. While you were in CEP did you have a meeting with an Employment Service counselor?

    YES___ (CONTINUE WITH Q22)
    NO___ |
    DK___ |→(SKIP TO Q24)

22. Did your talk with the counselor help you to make any job plans?

    a. What were they?

23. Did you have any problems with the people who work for the Employment Service?

    a. Could you tell me about them?

Training

24. Did you take the MDTA, OJT, Special Impact, NYC, or New Careers training--the programs that teach skills for particular jobs?

    MDTA____
    OJT ____
    Special Impact____ → (CONTINUE WITH Q25)
    NYC____
    New Careers____
    None____ (SKIP TO Q35)

25. Did you also take basic education--the program that helps to improve your ability to read and write--while you were in job training?

26. What kind of job did the training prepare you for?

27. Was this the kind of job you wanted to get when you entered CEP?

    a. What kind did you want?

28. Thinking back, try to compare the CEP training with the kind you had when you were still in school. Would you say the CEP classes were better or worse than those?

    a. Why do you feel that way?

29. Was there anything you particularly liked or disliked about the training?

    a. What was that?

30. Do you feel the program had the necessary equipment and facilities for teaching?

    a. What was wrong?

31. Did you have any difficulties in learning some of the things they were teaching you?

    a. In what ways?

32. How did you get along with the people who taught the program?

    a. What kind of problems did you have?

33. In your opinion was the training you received very good____, good____, not so good____, or poor____?

34. Has the training you received been useful to you in any way?

    a. In what ways?

Coaches

Now I would like to talk with you a little about your coach.

35. Did you have a regular coach who was supposed to help you out with any problems you had?

36. Just as a guess, how often would you say you talked with your coach during an average week?____

37. Could you always get hold of him to talk with him when you wanted to?

38. Was he able to help you out with any problems you had?

39. Generally, did you feel your coach was really interested in helping you?

CEP in General

40. CEP has some supportive services. These are health care, day care for children, and legal aid. Did you have contact with any of these?

    a. Which ones?
    b. Did these services help you out in any way?
    c. Did you have any problems with any of them?

41. Did you have any problems with any other part of CEP?
    a. What were they?
    b. (IF PAY NOT MENTIONED) Was there any time you had a problem with your pay while in CEP?
    c. When was that?
    d. What was the problem?

42. Was the payroll system of CEP explained to you accurately?
    a. What was wrong?

43. How do you feel about what you were paid while in CEP?

44. Were you able to get along on what you received?

    How did you manage?

45. Did you find it hard to get from your home to CEP?

46. Do you feel you got out of CEP what you hoped you would when you signed up?
    a. In what ways were you disappointed?

47. Do you think you would go into CEP again if you had it to do over again?
    a. Why not?

Dropout Only (IF NOT A DROPOUT SKIP TO Q55)

48. Now I would like to talk with you a little about when you stopped coming to CEP. What stage of CEP were you in when you stopped coming?

49. Did you think much about it before you decided to stop coming?

50. Did you ever discuss your decision with anyone?
    a. Who?
    b. (IF COACH NOT MENTIONED) Did you ever discuss it with your coach?

51. What were some of the things that made you want to stop? (PROBE)

52. Can you pick out the single most important thing?

53. Even though you didn't finish the CEP program, do you feel it helped you in any way?
    a. In what ways?

54. What changes could be made in CEP that would encourage you to return?

Jobs

Those are all the questions I have about CEP itself; now I'd like to talk to you a little about jobs.

55. Did CEP refer you to any jobs that you did not take or did not stay with?

    a. What was the problem?

56. Are you working now?

    a. How did you get this job?
    b. What do you do on this job?
    c. Do you think you could have gotten this kind of job if you had not been in CEP?

57. Who is your employer?

58. How long does it take you to travel from your home to your job? Do you have any problems making the trip?

    a. What are the problems?

59. How are the other workers to get along with?

60. How about your supervisor, how is he?

61. Do you feel you have some chance for advancement in this job?

    a. Could you explain?

62. Are you satisfied____ or dissatisfied____ with the amount of money you are earning?

    (IF DISSATISFIED) a. How much per week do you think would be a satisfactory rate? $____per week.

63. Overall would you say you mainly like____ or dislike____ your job?

64. Of all the jobs you have held was there any one you liked a lot more than the others?

    a. What was that job, what did you do?
    b. What was it you liked about that job?

65. Of other jobs you have held was there any one you disliked more than the others?

    a. What was that job?
    b. What did you particularly dislike about it?

66. What kind of work would you most like to do right now?

67. How much per week would you expect to earn?

68. What kind of work would you most like to do at some time in the future?

69. How much would you expect to earn then?

70. Would you say things are generally getting better____ or worse____ for you and your family? Could you tell me why you feel this way?

71. Finally, I'd like to read you seven statements and I'd like you to tell me whether you agree or disagree with each one. Don't spend too much time on any one; just tell me whether you think the statement is generally true or not.

a. A person shouldn't hope for too much in this life. A D
b. If a man can't better himself it is his own fault. A D
c. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time. A D
d. Man shouldn't work too hard, for his fortune is in the hands of God. A D
e. A person can get anything he wants if he is willing to work for it. A D
f. A man shouldn't work too hard because it won't do him any good unless luck is with him. A D
g. Good luck is more important than hard work for success. A D

APPENDIX B-2

Methods Used to Measure Attitude toward Work

Items Used in Own-Categories Sort

Very negative items		Scale Value	Q Value
1.	Only suckers work.	1.2	0.9
2.	If you need money, gambling is a better way to get it than working.	1.9	1.6
3.	The man who spends his youth working is a fool.	2.1	1.8
4.	Hustling is better than working any day.	2.2	1.9
5.	Most work is dull and boring.	2.5	1.7
Slightly negative items			
6.	Work and fun don't go together.	3.2	2.1
7.	What's the sense of working hard when it doesn't matter anyway?	3.8	2.3
8.	Most people would rather not work, if they could get out of it.	3.8	1.7
9.	A person who is weak shouldn't have to work.	4.1	2.1
10.	Some people just weren't made to work hard all day.	4.2	2.1
Neutral items			
11.	Work is alright, if you can get it.	5.0	2.9
12.	Most people like to take a vacation from work once in a while.	5.3	2.8
13.	Most people don't work as hard as they could.	5.4	2.8
14.	A person who is sick shouldn't have to work.	5.7	2.0
Slightly positive items			
15.	This country is set up so that most people can work.	7.9	1.8
16.	People need work to keep them busy.	8.0	2.3
17.	Most people don't mind working.	8.2	1.9
18.	It is natural for a person to want to work.	8.5	2.1
19.	Young people should be taught the value of work at the earliest possible age.	8.8	2.2
20.	Hard work never hurt anyone.	9.0	2.1
21.	Your strength comes from your work.	9.1	1.9
22.	Working hard is more enjoyable than just sitting around.	9.3	1.6
23.	The only way to get ahead is by hard work.	9.5	2.2
24.	Hard work makes a person feel worthwhile.	9.8	1.6

Ambiguous Items

		Scale Value	Q Value
25.	In the future, most people won't work very much.	3.8	3.2
26.	Some people actually don't want to work.	4.2	3.0
27.	In the future, machines will do all of the work.	4.3	2.5
28.	Avoiding work can be a way of life.	4.6	3.1
29.	A sharp person should live by his wits.	5.0	4.4
30.	It takes a strong person to work all day, every day.	5.6	3.8
31.	Most people don't realize how hard you have to work to get ahead.	6.3	3.2
32.	More people should realize what hard work really is.	6.4	3.4
33.	You can tell what a man is like by how he feels about working.	6.8	2.6
34.	There must be something wrong with people who don't realize what hard work really is.	6.8	3.9
35.	A good worker really has to put out.	7.0	3.7
36.	The person who spends his youth working knows what he has achieved.	7.2	2.3
37.	You can tell what a person is like from the kind of work he does.	7.3	2.4
38.	You know how someone feels who has worked hard all his life to get where he is.	8.1	3.0
39.	What you do for a living says it all.	8.6	4.9
40.	Fortunes are built on the profits from hard work.	9.2	3.7

Changes in Scale for Follow-up

In the first phase of the study the 40-item own-categories sort was the hardest instrument for the interviewers to use. The respondents had difficulty making a distinction between "how a statement makes work sound" and their own agreement with it. In effect their own category sorts appeared to be sorts into statements with which they agreed or disagreed, or about which they were undecided.

To test whether the sort into piles and the stated agreement with these piles were yielding different kinds of information, a number of analyses were made of them. The items were scored by the numbers of the piles they were sorted into (the pile which made work sound worse was scored 1, the next pile 2, and so on). They were also scored by the labels put on them, with a double negative (--) scored 1, "-" scored 2, "?" scored 3, "+" scored 4, and "++" scored 5. The scored items were then run on a Likert analysis and intercorrelated by item. The item scores were summed and the totals correlated, and the pre- and posttests administered to the same people were correlated, by individual items and by total score.

These analyses yielded a variety of information. The Likert analysis indicated the degree to which each item correlated with the total score. It also showed the items that were good discriminators between the high and low scoring subjects. The pile sorts and the labels tended to have very similar Likert patterns. The Likert *t* values are shown in Table 1, and the item-total intercorrelations in Table 2. The intercorrelation of the individual items, with the piles and labels considered as different methods and each item as a different trait, was analyzed in a multitrait-multimethod matrix (Table 3). This analysis largely met the criteria for this matrix, and it identified the items that had higher correlation with other items than with themselves. There were only a few of these.

The intercorrelation of the sum of the item scores yielded the values shown in Table 4. These are sizable for the piles and labels administered at the same time, but discouragingly low pre to post. The *r* values in Table 5 are the pre-post reliability of the individual items for the separate pile sorts and labels.

Using the information on the discriminating power and reliability of the separate items, the less adequate items were eliminated. These were 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 26, 30, and 34. The remaining items were then reviewed for personal relevance. On this criterion 8, 16, 27, 28, 29, and 37 were removed because they did not reflect directly on how the individual felt about work. They tended to be about society in general, machines, the need for vacations, etc. The items retained for the final set were 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 38, 39, and 40. For items 1 through 7 the scoring is reversed; that is, a "strongly disagree" response is scored 5 and a "strongly agree" response 1. For all other items the scoring is 1 for "strongly disagree" to 5 for "strongly agree."

These items were administreed during the follow-up interview as follows: the interviewer shuffled the cards and said to the respondent, "On each of these cards there is a different statement about work. I would like you to look at each one and put it into one of five piles." The interviewer then put five cards in front of the respondent. From the respondent's left to right the cards read: "strongly disagree," "disagree," "undecided," "agree," "strongly agree." The interviewer then said, "In the first pile put the statements you strongly disagree with. In the second pile put the statements you disagree with. In the third pile put those statements on which you are undecided--you are not sure whether you agree or disagree. In the fourth pile put the statements with which you agree, and in the fifth pile put the statement with which you strongly agree. You can put as many cards as you wish into any of the five piles. Just try to put the card into the pile that best reflects your own feeling about the statement."

The interviewer gave the respondent one card at a time. If there had been evidence earlier in the interview of a reading difficulty, he read each item to the respondent. Finally, the numbers of the items that were sorted into the separate piles were recorded in the space provided in the interview schedule.

Table 1

Likert Analysis *t*-values for Difference in Item Means between Highest and Lowest Scoring Quartiles

Item	Pre-piles	Pre-labels	Post-piles	Post-labels
1	3.03	5.15	9.75	9.12
2	3.34	5.87	12.33	10.97
3	1.77	4.48	9.10	11.13
4	3.31	5.29	9.29	10.79
5	2.78	4.33	5.22	6.64
6	.05	.93	.08	1.83
7	3.80	4.93	9.73	9.70
8	3.94	5.27	2.15	5.64
9	.70	2.10	3.90	4.86
10	2.55	3.64	.92	4.93
11	2.09	2.52	5.45	3.47
12	1.22	.22	1.31	.85
13	3.68	3.31	7.99	4.84
14	2.04	2.73	2.05	.31
15	.01	.52	.73	1.06
16	4.73	3.77	14.26	9.71
17	5.74	4.64	13.41	11.93
18	4.22	4.16	11.90	7.48
19	6.48	5.08	13.76	10.86
20	7.22	4.69	16.04	10.68
21	7.84	5.23	12.83	10.17
22	5.03	3.46	8.10	7.41
23	8.68	5.70	11.30	10.20
24	9.37	4.99	10.59	9.71
25	7.58	4.67	14.37	10.71
26	1.72	3.99	.89	.37
27	3.48	5.54	2.86	6.36
28	2.05	4.54	2.50	5.28
29	2.71	4.73	3.74	6.35
30	1.37	.27	4.62	1.99
31	2.56	2.07	8.31	5.22
32	3.37	3.30	12.56	8.39
33	4.47	4.26	8.84	7.93
34	2.26	1.25	5.93	5.78
35	6.85	5.38	8.14	6.78
36	6.94	5.27	15.75	10.74
37	5.85	2.92	4.97	4.65
38	6.63	5.54	9.75	8.20
39	5.80	3.24	4.69	6.92
40	6.17	4.50	10.65	9.92

Table 2

Likert Analysis, Adjusted Individual Item-Total Score Correlations

Item	Pretest		Posttest		Pre and Post	Pre and Post
	Piles	Labels	Piles	Labels	Piles Combined	Labels Combined
1	.28	.49	.52	.53	.49	.52
2	.23	.49	.55	.57	.49	.54
3	.09	.31	.38	.48	.34	.45
4	.10	.44	.42	.52	.35	.50
5	.14	.21	.28	.34	.24	.30
6	-.09	-.03	-.08	.02	-.09	.00
7	.23	.38	.47	.49	.42	.47
8	.30	.37	.14	.25	.18	.29
9	-.11	.13	.19	.23	.10	.20
10	.16	.22	.07	.24	.09	.24
11	.07	.07	.23	.13	.21	.12
12	.01	.00	-.06	.00	-.07	-.02
13	.25	.30	.32	.22	.36	.26
14	.07	.13	-.12	-.09	-.06	-.03
15	-.05	-.05	-.04	.04	-.04	.02
16	.39	.33	.55	.43	.55	.43
17	.43	.30	.55	.52	.53	.47
18	.32	.29	.48	.39	.47	.38
19	.48	.42	.52	.47	.54	.48
20	.46	.39	.62	.56	.61	.54
21	.53	.32	.53	.49	.55	.47
22	.41	.26	.35	.33	.38	.32
23	.61	.44	.49	.49	.53	.49
24	.53	.37	.47	.44	.51	.45
25	.56	.39	.56	.50	.59	.49
26	.13	.16	-.04	-.02	-.03	.01
27	.19	.42	.12	.25	.16	.32
28	.13	.23	.14	.22	.11	.20
29	.18	.37	.19	.25	.23	.30
30	-.28	-.05	-.26	-.17	-.28	-.16
31	-.34	-.35	-.46	-.41	-.45	-.40
32	.36	.27	.53	.49	.50	.44
33	.37	.31	.39	.38	.41	.38
34	.20	.10	.28	.28	.25	.23
35	.47	.36	.36	.29	.42	.33
36	.57	.59	.57	.51	.60	.54
37	.46	.16	.20	.15	.29	.18
38	.39	.37	.43	.39	.44	.40
39	.37	.18	.21	.31	.29	.31
40	.38	.32	.47	.47	.49	.47

Table 3

Analysis of Correlation between Item Sort Pile Numbers and Labels Assigned to Sorted Piles

Item	Pretest	Posttest	Item	Pretest	Posttest
1	.70	.67	21	.68	.63
2	.73	.63	22	.80	.65
3	.77	.73	23	.73	.62
4	.74	.68	24	.67	.66
5	.80	.68	25	.71	.62
6	.80	.67	26	.79	.67
7	.77	.69	27	.79	.68
8	.82	.67	28	.80	.72
9	.79	.64	29	.74	.67
10	.77	.64	30	.76	.64
11	.76	.63	31	.62	.55
12	.77	.66	32	.67	.56
13	.47	.55	33	.70	.62
14	.84	.62	34	.82	.65
15	.79	.66	35	.64	.63
16	.58	.57	36	.51	.54
17	.69	.60	37	.78	.69
18	.63	.56	38	.70	.56
19	.67	.59	39	.80	.64
20	.53	.55	40	.57	.65

Table 4

Correlations of Total Attitude Score Pretest and Posttest

	All 40 items		First 25 items	
	r	N	r	N
Pretest and Posttest Sorts	.19	103	.25	103
Pretest and Posttest Labels	.24	103	.23	103
Pretest Piles and Labels	.73	148	.76	148
Posttest Piles and Labels	.62	335	.60	335

Table 5

Reliability Pretest to Posttest of Item Sort and Labels Assigned to Sorted Piles by Individual Items

Item	Pre-Post Piles	Pre-Post Labels	Item	Pre-Post Piles	Pre-Post Labels
1	.20	.21	21	.08	.23
2	.21	.17	22	.15	.01
3	.40	.29	23	.06	.04
4	.26	.30	24	.23	.19
5	.17	.17	25	-.04	.03
6	.13	.05	26	.13	-.07
7	.05	.06	27	.07	.05
8	.10	.07	28	.10	.15
9	.01	.05	29	.19	.16
10	.09	-.09	30	.25	.17
11	.19	.01	31	.09	.17
12	.19	.20	32	-.02	.07
13	.02	.24	33	-.01	.08
14	.20	.17	34	-.22	-.10
15	.04	.04	35	-.02	.11
16	.02	.08	36	.08	.24
17	.09	.23	37	.08	.00
18	.12	.08	38	.06	-.02
19	-.08	.06	39	.03	.06
20	.05	.20	40	.00	.00

APPENDIX B-3

Physiological and Perceptual Indicators of Attitude

The psychological construct of attitude is usually defined in terms of a syndrome of response consistency regarding psychological or social objects, or as an underlying disposition which enters into the determination of a variety of behaviors toward an object or a class of objects. With almost no exception, all attitude measurement techniques are based upon variations of the same method--the use of direct, structured, verbal reports forced into a pencil-and-paper format. There is nothing in the above definitions, however, which requires reliance solely upon verbal reports as evidence of attitudinal orientation. In fact, these definitions refer to syndromes of response consistency and varieties of behavior toward objects.

Most theories of attitude and attitude change are based upon studies utilizing this sort of methodology, which recently has come under heavy criticism. Sechrist (1967) has stated that no category of behavior is intrinsically superior to others as a basis for inference of attitudinal orientation, and that other approaches are badly needed in order to supplement verbal report measures. Cook and Selltiz (1964) support this by showing that attitudes can never be measured directly, but only by inference from some observed behavior. Because attitude measurement is an inferential process, they point out, it becomes necessary to use several different methods of measuring any one attitude, measures which complement each other's strengths and balance out each other's weaknesses. The weakness inherent in the traditional verbal report approaches, according to Campbell (1967), is that they draw attention to the attitude being measured, thus destroying its natural expression by arousing social desirability responses.

For these reasons, both Campbell (1967) and Cook and Selltiz (1964) have emphasized the need for utilizing combinations of measures which are disguised and/or relatively unstructured; both have described recent attempts by several researchers to use physiological or perceptual measures as attitudinal indicators. Scott (1968) discusses how physiological and perceptual measures avoid the problems posed by traditional measures--by doing away with introspection and semantic interpretation altogether. He acknowledges the desirability of using a combination of autonomic responses and perceptual distortions to yield attitude measurement which can be ". . . more valid than direct verbal reports for certain attitudes of certain persons" (p. 217).

In recent years, many attempts have been made to devise different approaches to attitude measurement. Of these, the two which have been most consistently successful are binocular (stereoscopic) rivalry and pupillary dilation.

Binocular Rivalry

Stereoscopically-induced binocular rivalry has been used as a means of studying human perception since the early part of this century. The early emphasis, however, was always upon the perception of abstract figures and geometric forms. It was not until the mid-fifties that any attempt to use psychologically meaningful stimuli in a rivalry situation was made. At that time Engel (1956) presented inverted face-normal face pairs in a stereoscope and found a predominance of normal-face percepts. These results were interpreted as evidence of the effects of past experience upon subsequent perception. Engel's results were later replicated by Hastorf and Myro (1959). In a cross-cultural study, Bagby (1957) demonstrated that in pairs of culturally-mixed scenes, the scenes from the subject's own culture were predominant in his perception. Again, the results were interpreted in terms of the effect of personal significance upon perception.

The results of the above studies are open to the criticism of stimulus familiarity. Could it not be that the subjects were merely perceiving those stimuli which were most familiar to them (own-culture scenes and normally positioned faces)? Beloff and Beloff (1959) indicated that this interpretation was probably not correct. In their study, binocular fusion of two faces was again studied, but one of the faces was the subject's own. No own-face perceptual predominance was found, and very few of the subjects recognized their own faces.

The binocular rivalry situation has been used successfully to study several attitudinal areas. Pettigrew, Allport, and Barnett (1958) showed mixed pairs of Negro-white, Negro-Asian, and white-Asian faces to South Africans. They found that subjects' perceptions were a consequence of their known racial prejudices. In another study of prejudice, Reynolds and Toch (1965) found a greater predominance of binocular rivalry over binocular fusion when racially mixed pairs of stimuli (faces) were presented to highly prejudiced subjects.

In another series of studies, Toch and Schulte (1961) used binocular rivalry to demonstrate that police recruits who had been in training for longer periods of time were more likely than newer recruits to perceive violent scenes, rather than nonviolent scenes. Similarly, Shelley and Toch (1962) successfully predicted that prisoners who showed greater tendencies to perceive violence were more likely to be troublemakers while imprisoned. Moore (1966) tested children of different age levels and found that males perceived more violence at all ages and that perception of violence increased linearly with age. In studying perceptual defenses, Davis (1959) found that the binocular rivalry responses of mentally ill subjects were markedly different from those of normal subjects.

Cantril (1957) wrote a theoretical paper, based on the results of previous binocular rivalry studies, in which he attempted to explain the results in terms of the ambiguity produced by the mixed perceptions of the stimuli. He felt that the perceptual ambiguity allowed the subjects to "project" their own attitudes into the unstructured situation, an explanation which is very similar to the rationale behind the "projective" personality tests. Van de Castle (1960) expanded upon this explanation and pointed out the possibilities inherent in the use of completing perceptual processes to uncover response tendencies not apparent elsewhere.

Two recent studies have attempted to determine the relationship of binocular rivalry to other measures of attitudinal orientation. Purcell and Clifford (1966) found moderate correlations between rivalry results and traditional attitude scales, and Ono, Hastorf, and Osgood (1966) found a relationship between perceptual rivalry results and semantic differential results, where semantically congruous stimulus pairs led to binocular fusion and semantically incongruous stimuli led to binocular rivalry.

The paired work-nonwork stimulus words used with the CEP participants are listed below:

Test Pairs

1. can-car
2. phone-plane

Attitude Pairs

1. wine-wage
2. employment-enjoyment
3. vacation-vocation
4. labor-later
5. promotion-probation
6. family-factory

Pupillary Dilation

It has long been recognized that pupil dilation is controlled by the automatic nervous system. The pupil responds not only to changes in light intensity, but also as a part of the body's reaction to emotions such as fear and intense interest. Hess and Polt (1960) created a stir by demonstrating that the pupillary reaction could be used as an index of interest in meaningful visual stimuli. In a follow-up to this article, Hess (1965) reported a series of studies of this phenomenon and claimed that the pupillary reaction is a bidirectional indicator--that pupillary dilation was found to stimuli of positive interest and pupillary constriction was found to stimuli of negative interest.

Scott, et al. (1967) reported on three experiments in which only mild support for the validity of pupillary response as a measure of interest was found, and expressed the concern that spontaneous variability in this response may make it an unreliable indicator. However, Nunally, et al. (1967) found that this response was a good indicator of general emotional arousal, including arousal of interest. This was supported by Peavler and

McLaughlin (1967, but contradicted by Woodmansee (1966). Woodmansee found that pupillary responses to pictures of Negroes and whites were not only related to the known racial prejudices of the subjects but were also bidirectional. The pupils of pro-Negro subjects dilated in the presence of pictures of Negroes and the pupils of anti-Negro subjects constricted to these pictures.

In a study by Guinan (1967) it was shown that pupillary response was a valid indicator of response to emotion-producing words. This result was supported by the findings of Hutt and Anderson (1967), who also found a relation between this response and other perceptual responses such as tachistoscopic recognition threshold. The latter results were interpreted in terms of mechanisms of perceptual defense and vigilance.

Collins, Ellsworth, and Helmreich (1967) found a relationship between the pupillary response and the semantic differential method of attitude measurement, in which changes in pupil size were related to the potency dimension of the scale but not to the evaluative dimension.

Finally, Bokander (1967) demonstrated that pupillographic and binocular rivalry methods of studying arousal and directionality could be used together.

APPENDIX B-4

Interview Schedule for Potential Participants
Who Did Not Take Part in CEP

(Listed below are the main questions asked of respondents. The spaces for recording answers and some of the instructions to interviewers have been deleted.)

INTRODUCTION: I am working for The Pennsylvania State University. We are contacting people about the Columbus manpower program, the Concentrated Employment Program, to find out some of their attitudes toward it. All of your answers are confidential. They will not be shown to anyone with the program, and they will be combined into tables so that one person's answers can never be identified.

Background Data

First I would like to get some background data. (BY OBSERVATION)

1. What is your age?

2. Are you married?

3. Do you have any dependents?

   a. How many do you have?

Education-Work History

4. Where did you go to high school?

5. How old were you when you left high school?

6. Did you graduate?

   a. How many grades did you complete?

7. Were any of the courses you took in high school of any use when you started looking for a job?

   a. Which ones?

8. What kinds of jobs have you had since you left high school?

9. Just as a rough guess, about how many different jobs have you had?

10. What are some of the reasons why you left other jobs that you had?

11. Are you working now?

    a. How many months has it been since you had your last job?
    _____months (SKIP TO Q20)

12. How did you get this job?

13. How long have you had it?

14. Who is your employer?

15. How are the other workers to get along with?

16. How about your supervisor, how is he?

17. Do you feel you have some chance for advancement in this job?

    a. Could you explain?

18. Are you satisfied____ or dissatisfied____ with the amount of money you are earning?

    (IF DISSATISFIED) a. How much per week do you think would be a satisfactory rate? $_____per week

19. Overall, would you say you mainly like____ or dislike____ your job?

Work Attitudes

20. What would be the smallest amount of money per week that you would be willing to work for?

21. If you added together all the days you worked in the past year, how many total weeks or months would they be?

22. Of all the jobs you have held was there any one you liked a lot more than the others?

    a. What was that job, what did you do?
    b. What was it you liked about that job?

23. Of other jobs you have held was there any one you disliked more than the others?

    a. What was that job?
    b. What did you particularly dislike about it?

24. If you could make up the kind of work situation that you would like the best, how would you describe it? (PROBE: OFFICE, FACTORY, OR OUTDOORS, WORK WITH PEOPLE OR THINGS, ONE SPOT OR MOVING AROUND, RESPONSIBLE FOR OTHERS OR NOT, DRESS-UP OR WORK CLOTHES)

25. What kind of work would you most like to do right now?

26. How much per week would you expect to earn?

27. What kind of work would you most like to do at some time in the future?

28. How much would you expect to earn then?

CEP Attitudes and Experiences

29. Have you heard about the manpower center, the Concentrated Employment Program?

    a. How do people feel about it, in general?

30. Do you recall ever being contacted by one of the CEP recruiters?

A2. Where did you talk with the recruiter?

A3. What were you told that the CEP had to offer?

A4. When the recruiter talked with you was there anything in the program that interested you?

Yes___ → a. What was that?
No ___ → b. Has anything happened to make you more interested?

A5. Did you ever go into the CEP offices to find out more about it?

Yes___ (CONTINUE WITH QA6)
No ___ → What prevented you from going there? (SKIP TO Q34)

Intake

A6. About how long was it after you heard about CEP before you went to the office?

A7. What were you most interested in getting from CEP when you went there the first time?

    a. Was there some particular type of work you were interested in?

A8. Did you know anyone in CEP the first time you went to sign up?

    a. Who was that?

A9. Did anyone you know come to sign up with you?

    a. Did that other person take part in any of the programs?

A10. The first day you visited the CEP office, how did you feel the people who worked there acted toward you?

A11. Of all the people you talked with the first day, was there anyone you felt was really pleasant?

    a. Who was that?

A12. Was there anyone who offended you?

    a. How were you offended?

A13. If it were up to you, was there anything during that first day that you would change?

(IF NOT MENTIONED) a. Do you think there is anything that could be improved in the processing procedure?
b. What things?

Forms-Interviews-Testing

A14. Just as a rough guess, how many forms do you think you filled out while you were in CEP? _____

A15. Did you feel these were necessary?

a. Which ones did you feel were unnecessary?

31. About how many interviews do you think you had while you were in CEP?

32. Did these bother you in any way?

a. In what ways?

33. Did you take any tests while you were connected with CEP?

a. Did it bother you to take these?
b. In what ways did it bother you?
c. Do you think these tests show what you can really do?
d. Why not?

33a. How many different days did you go to the CEP offices?

33b. What were some of the things that caused you to stop going there

33c. What was the single most important thing?

33d. Do you feel that going into the CEP offices helped you in any wa

In what ways?

34. Training programs for all the jobs listed on this card (GIVE CAR are not available now, but if these kind of programs were availa what are the chances that you would sign up for them? For each tell me if the chances are very likely, likely, unlikely, or ver unlikely.

Retail sales clerk
Carpenter apprentice
Hospital attendant
Short order cook
Bank teller
Printer apprentice
Auto body repairman
Bookkeeper
Auto salesman
Recreation attendant
Bus driver
Electrician apprent
Landscape gardener
Social work aide

35. Look over the list again, and tell me the one job that you would be most interested in (PUT "M" IN FRONT OF JOB). Now tell me the one job that you would be least interested in (PUT "L" IN FRONT OF JOB).

36. How much living allowance per week would you need to be able to get along if you attended a training program?

37. Have you ever taken part in other job training programs?

38. Who conducted the program?

39. What kind of job did it train you for?

40. Were you able to finish the program?

a. What prevented you from finishing it?

41. Was the training of any help in trying to find a job?

(Questions repeated in 42 to 45 for a second program)

Outlook on Life

46. Are you satisfied with the way things are going for you now?

a. What is wrong with your situation?

47. Do you ever feel as though life is sort of passing you by--as if you are standing still while other people are going somewhere?

a. Could you explain?

48. At the rate you are going now, if you work hard all your life do you feel that later on you will have anything to show for it?

49. Would you say things are generally getting better____ or worse____ for you? Could you tell me why you feel this way?

50. Finally, I'd like to read you seven statements and I'd like you to tell me whether you agree or disagree with each one. Don't spend too much time on any one; just tell me whether you think the statement is generally true or not.

a. A person shouldn't hope for too much in this life. A D
b. If a man can't better himself it is his own fault. A D
c. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time. A D
d. Man shouldn't work too hard, for his fortune is in the hands of God. A D
e. A person can get anything he wants if he is willing to work for it. A D

f. A man shouldn't work too hard because it won't do him any good unless luck is with him. A D
g. Good luck is more important than hard work for success. A D

INTERVIEWER'S REACTION
(TO BE COMPLETED AFTER THE INTERVIEW)

1. Rate how cooperative respondent seemed to you in interview.

2. Did you feel respondent was honestly trying to answer questions or just trying to get it over with?

3. How would you rate the respondent's overall attitude toward job training programs such as CEP?

4. How would you rate this respondent's overall attitude toward work?

5. Did you get the feeling that this respondent is mainly the kind of person who makes plans and carries them out or mainly the kind who lets his (or her) life be controlled by events?

6. How would you rate this respondent's overall attitudes toward himself and his chances in life?

7. Check each category where there was any evidence of the following handicaps:

____physical handicaps--missing limbs, palsy, very poor hearing or sight.
____alcoholism or drug addiction.
____personality disorganization indicated by an inability to respond in a reasonable manner to the interview situation.

8. How well was the respondent dressed?

9. Was there any evidence, either from the interview or from other information available to you, that the respondent had sources of income other than working?

   a. What sources?

10. Describe what you feel is preventing this respondent from holding a regular job.

APPENDIX C-1

Interview Schedule Used in Follow-up of Former CEP Participants

(Listed below are the main questions asked of respondents. The spaces for recording answers and some of the instructions to interviewers have been deleted.)

INTRODUCTION: I am working for Penn State University. We are continuing our study of how well the Concentrated Employment Program run by CMACAO helps those people who take part in it. One of our staff may have talked with you at an earlier time. Now I would like to ask you about some of your experiences since you left the CEP. I want to remind you that all of your answers are confidential. They will not be shown to anyone with the CEP. They will be combined into tables of numbers so that one person's answers can never be identified.

1. Approximately what date (month) did you have your first contact with CEP?

   a. That would make it roughly ____ months ago, is that right?

2. Were you ever placed in or referred to any jobs by CEP?

   Yes___ → Were you referred to any jobs that you did not take or were not hired for?
   No ___ → Why didn't CEP find you a job?

3. I would like to ask you some questions about each job you have held since your first contact with CEP. You said earlier that was in (SEE Q1) ___________ (month). Let's start then; did you have a job that month?

(ASK QUESTIONS BELOW FOR EACH JOB FROM FIRST CONTACT WITH CEP TO THE PRESENT DATE)

4. WORK HISTORY

   a. When did you start this job? When did you leave this job?
   b. About how long did you look before getting this job? (Specify days, weeks, etc.)
   c. How did you find out about this job?
   d. What was the name of the company?
   e. What was your job called?
   f. What did you do on this job?
   g. Did you receive any training on this job? IF YES, what kind; how many hours per week, how long did training last?
   h. About how many hours per week did you work on this job? (If irregular, give an average)

i. What was your starting pay on this job? (hourly rate) (If receives tips, bonus, etc., include an average figure)
j. What was (is) your leaving (current) pay on this job? (hourly rate)
k. Were any of the things you learned at the CEP of any use on this job? IF YES, what things?
l. Overall, did (do) you mainly like or dislike this job?
m. (IF NO LONGER IN JOB) Why did you leave this job?

(AFTER COMPLETING JOB HISTORY, ADMINISTER JOB RATING FORM. SAY TO RESPONDENT:) I have a form here I would like you to fill out to describe your present (OR most recent) job. That is the (SEE Q3e) ____________ job with the (SEE Q3d) ____________ company. We will go over the directions together. If you have any questions, ask me and I'll try to explain. (GO OVER DIRECTIONS WITH RESPONDENT. IF HE HAS DIFFICULTY IN READING, READ ITEM TO HIM.)

(AFTER COMPLETING JOB RATING FORM, ADMINISTER JDI BOOKLET. SAY TO RESPONDENT:) I have another booklet I would like you to complete to describe your present (OR most recent) job. We will go over these instructions together also. (GO OVER DIRECTIONS WITH RESPONDENT. IF HE HAS DIFFICULTY IN READING, READ EACH WORD TO HIM.)

4. Is there someone you work with in your current (OR most recent) job that you know pretty well who didn't go through CEP also?

   a. Could you give me his name and address? We would like to ask him some of these same questions about his job.

5. We also would like to ask your current (OR last) supervisor a little about your job. Could you tell me his full name?

IF RESPONDENT IS CURRENTLY EMPLOYED

6. Besides your regular job, do you have any money coming in from other sources?

   a. Source or type?
   b. Roughly how much per week?

7. Do you have any extra expenses each month because of your job, such as union dues or babysitters?

   a. Approximate amount per month: $________

IF RESPONDENT NOT EMPLOYED

8. Where do you get your money to live on?

   a. Approximately how much per week do you get?

9. Looking back, do you feel you got out of CEP what you hoped you would when you signed up?

   In what ways were you disappointed?

10. Do you think you would go into CEP again if you had it to do over again?

11. Can you think of any improvements that you would like to see made in CEP?

12. Did you ever find that race prejudice was a problem on any of the jobs you have held since you were in CEP?

    a. Could you tell me a little about it?

13. After you left CEP were you ever contacted by anyone from CEP to see how you were getting along?

    a. About how many times?

14. Did you ever get any other help from CEP after you stopped attending regularly?

    Yes___ → What kind?
    No ___ → Have you needed any of the kind of help CEP provides?
    Yes___ → What kind?

15. Have you taken any training or educational programs on your own since you left CEP?

    a. What kind?
    b. Who conducted the training?
    c. How many hours per week?
    d. How long did the course last?
    e. Did you complete it?
    f. Has the program helped you in any way?

16. Of all the jobs you have held was there any one you liked a lot more than the others?

    a. What was that job, what did you do?
    b. What was it you liked about that job?

17. Of other jobs you have held was there any one you disliked more than the others?

    a. What was that job?
    b. What did you particularly dislike about it?

18. What was the best-paying job you ever held?

    a. Roughly how much did you make per week?
    b. How long did you have the job?
    c. Why did you leave it?

19. What kind of work would you most like to do right now?

    a. How much per week would you expect to earn?

20. What kind of work would you most like to do at some time in the future?

    a. How much would you expect to earn then?
    b. What kind of additional training or experience do you feel you would have to get to prepare for this kind of job?

21. (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT) Here is a list of different things most people would like to have in a job. All of these would be nice to have, but I would like you to tell me which one is most important to you, which is next most important, and so on for the whole list. (PLACE A "1" IN FRONT OF THE CHARACTERISTIC THE RESPONDENT SAYS IS MOST IMPORTANT, A "2" IN FRONT OF THE SECOND MOST IMPORTANT, AND CONTINUE FOR ALL CHARACTERISTICS.)

    Good working conditions, not too dirty, too hot, or too cold
    Friendly co-workers, nice people to work with
    A chance for advancement or promotion
    Having a job that other people think is a good one
    Security, being sure of regular work
    Good pay, enough to afford a few extras
    A supervisor who is easy to get along with
    Work I enjoy doing, things to do that interest me

22. Would you say things are generally getting better____ or worse____ for you and your family? Could you tell me why you feel this way?

23. Now I'd like to read you seven statements and I'd like you to tell me whether you agree or disagree with each one. Don't spend too much time on any one; just tell me whether you think the statement is generally true or not.

    a. A person shouldn't hope for too much in this life.
    b. If a man can't better himself it is his own fault.
    c. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.
    d. Man shouldn't work too hard, for his fortune is in the hands of God.
    e. A person can get anything he wants if he is willing to work for it.
    f. A man shouldn't work too hard because it won't do him any good unless luck is with him.
    g. Good luck is more important than hard work for success.

24. I would like to get a little background information.

    a. Your age is? _____years
    b. Did you graduate from high school?
       No ___ → c. How many grades did you complete?
    d. Are you married?
    e. Do you have any dependents? _____ How many do you have? _____

(BY OBSERVATION)

g. Sex: _____
h. Race: _____
i. Observable physical handicap (missing limbs, speech defect, severe hearing or sight loss): _____

(ADMINISTER CARD SORT OF WORK ATTITUDE ITEMS. SAY TO RESPONDENT:) This is the last thing I would like you to do. On each of these cards there is a different statement about work. I would like you to look at each one and put it into one of five piles. (PLACE LABEL CARD FOR EACH PILE IN FRONT OF RESPONDENT.) In the first pile put the statements you strongly disagree with. In the second pile put the statements you disagree with. In the third pile put those statements on which you are undecided--you are not sure whether you agree or disagree. In the fourth pile put the statements with which you agree, and in the fifth pile put the statements with which you strongly agree. You can put as many cards as you wish into any of the five piles. Just try to put the card into the pile that best reflects own feeling about the statements.

Interviewer Reaction Sheet

(To be completed by interviewers after the interview is completed.)

1. Rate how cooperative respondent seemed to you in interview.

2. Did you feel respondent was honestly trying to answer questions or just trying to get it over with?

3. How would you rate the respondent's overall attitude toward CEP?

4. How would you rate this respondent's overall attitude toward work?

5. Did you get the feeling that this respondent is mainly the kind of person who makes plans and carries them out or mainly the kind who lets his (or her) life be controlled by events?

6. How would you rate this respondent's overall attitude toward himself and his chances in life?

Job Rating Scales

(Listed below are the directions and items used to obtain job ratings from former CEP participants and their co-workers. Following each item, in parentheses, are the three labels that were used to anchor the ends and middle of the nine-point rating scales. The scales used to indicate response were four inches in length and divided into nine equal intervals.)

Directions: In this booklet are a number of questions about different parts of a job. After each question there is a line which represents possible answers to the question. The line has the most favorable answer at one end and the least favorable answer at the other end. The numbers represent all possibilities between the most and the least favorable. Please answer each question by putting a check (√) at the number on the line that best reflects your feelings about each question.

THE JOB

1. How well do you like to do the kinds of things you do on this job? (do not like them, like some, like them very much)

2. How hard is the physical work on this job? (very easy, not too hard, very hard)

3. How many of the things you learned on this job would be useful in other jobs? (none of them, some of them, all of them)

4. How much of the time on the job do you try to do your very best work? (rarely, sometimes, frequently)

5. How proud are you of this job? (not proud, somewhat proud, very proud)

6. In general how well do you feel you do your job? (not very well, about average, very well)

7. Do you ever stay a little late to finish up a job even if you are not paid for it? (rarely, sometimes, frequently)

8. Considering all the working conditions (light, temperature, noise, cleanliness), how nice is the place where you work? (very nice, about average, very bad)

9. How much control do you have over the speed or pace at which you work? (no control, some control, complete control)

10. How well does this job fit your own skills and abilities? (does not fit, fits somewhat, fits very well)

11. When you are away from your job do you ever find yourself thinking about ways to do it better? (rarely, sometimes, frequently)

12. In comparison with other workers who do the same type of work you do, where would you rate yourself? (well below average, about average, well above average)

COMPANY, PAY, CO-WORKERS

13. How well does this company treat workers like you? (treats them poorly, treats them OK, treats them very well)

14. How helpful are the other workers in explaining things to new people? (not helpful, somewhat helpful, very helpful)

15. How well paid are you compared to other workers who do similar kinds of work? (paid worse, about average, paid better)

16. What do you think your chances are of getting a better job with this company? (very little chance, some chance, very good chance)

17. How proud are you to work for this company? (not proud, somewhat proud, very proud)

18. How friendly are the other workers? (not friendly, somewhat friendly, very friendly)

19. How satisfied are you with the amount of pay you receive? (not satisfied, somewhat satisfied, very satisfied)

20. Once you have a job with this company, how sure can you be that you will keep it? (not sure, somewhat sure, very sure)

SUPERVISION

21. How well do you and your supervisor (foreman, boss) get along? (do not get along, get along OK, get along very well)

22. How much of the time does your supervisor push you to work harder? (never, sometimes, all the time)

23. How closely does your supervisor watch your work? (does not watch, watches sometimes, watches closely)

24. How good is your supervisor at explaining things so you know just what to do? (explains very poorly, explains OK, explains very well)

25. How helpful is your supervisor when you have a problem? (not helpful, somewhat helpful, very helpful)

26. How often does your supervisor compliment you when you have done a good job? (rarely, sometimes, frequently)

27. How much does your supervisor criticize (bawl you out) if you are late or absent a day? (does not criticize, criticizes somewhat, criticizes very much)

28. In general how well do you like your supervisor? (do not like, like somewhat, like very much)

APPENDIX C-2

Interview Schedule Used with Co-workers of Former Participants

(Listed below are the main questions asked of respondents. The spaces for recording answers and some of the instructions to interviewers have been deleted.)

INTRODUCTION: I am working for Penn State University. We are conducting a study of the work experiences of various workers in Columbus during the past year. I would like to ask you some questions about the jobs you have held since January 1969. I want to assure you that all of your answers are confidential. They will be combined into tables of numbers so that one person's answers can never be identified.

1. First, I would like to get a little background information.

    a. Your age is?
    b. Did you graduate from high school?
    c. How many grades did you complete?
    d. Are you married?
    e. Do you have any dependents?
    f. How many do you have?

    (BY OBSERVATION)

    g. Sex: _____
    h. Race: _____
    i. Observable physical handicap (missing limbs, speech defect, severe hearing or sight loss): _____

2. I would like to ask you some questions about each job you have held since January 1969. That is a year before the past January. Let's start then; did you have a job that month?

(ASK QUESTIONS BELOW FOR EACH JOB FROM FIRST CONTACT WITH CEP TO THE PRESENT DATE)

3. WORK HISTORY

    a. When did you start this job? When did you leave this job?
    b. About how long did you look before getting this job? (specify days, weeks, etc.)
    c. How did you find out about this job?
    d. What was the name of the company?
    e. What was your job called?
    f. What did you do on this job?
    g. Did you receive any training on this job? IF YES, what kind; how long did training last?

h. About how many hours per week did you work on this job? (If irregular, give an average.)
i. What was your starting pay on this job? (hourly rate) (If receives tips, bonus, etc., include an average figure.)
j. What was (is) your leaving (current) pay on this job? (hourly rate)
k. Overall, did (do) you mainly like or dislike this job?
l. (IF NO LONGER IN JOB) Why did you leave this job?

(AFTER COMPLETING JOB HISTORY, ADMINISTER JOB RATING FORM. SAY TO RESPONDENT:) I have a form here I would like you to fill out to describe your present (OR most recent) job.

That is the (SEE Q2e)________________ job with the (SEE Q2d) ____________ company. We will go over the directions together. If you have any questions, ask me and I'll try to explain. (GO OVER DIRECTIONS WITH RESPONDENT. IF HE HAS DIFFICULTY IN READING, READ EACH ITEM TO HIM.)

(AFTER COMPLETING JOB RATING FORM, ADMINISTER JDI BOOKLET. SAY TO RESPONDENT:) I have another booklet I would like you to complete to describe your present (OR most recent) job. We will go over these instructions together also. (GO OVER DIRECTIONS WITH RESPONDENT. IF HE HAS DIFFICULTY IN READING, READ EACH WORD TO HIM.)

3. We would like to ask your current (OR last) supervisor a little about your job. Could you tell me his full name?

IF RESPONDENT IS CURRENTLY EMPLOYED

4. Besides your regular job, do you have any money coming in from other sources?

   a. Source or type?
   b. Roughly how much per week?

5. Do you have any extra expenses each month because of your job, such as union dues or babysitters?

   a. Approximate amount per month: $________

IF RESPONDENT IS NOT EMPLOYED

6. Where do you get your money to live on?

   a. Approximately how much per week do you get?

7. Did you ever find that race prejudice was a problem on any of the jobs you have held since January 1969?

   a. Could you tell me a little about it?

8. Have you taken any training or educational programs since January 1969?

   a. What kind?
   b. Who conducted the training?

c. How many hours per week?
d. How long did the course last?
e. Did you complete it?
f. Has the program helped you in any way?

9. Of all the jobs you have held was there any one you liked a lot more than the others?

a. What was the job, what did you do?
b. What was it you liked about that job?

10. Of other jobs you have held was there any one you disliked more than the others?

a. What was that job?
b. What did you particularly dislike about it?

11. What was the best-paying job you ever held?

a. Roughly how much did you make per week?
b. How long did you have the job?
c. Why did you leave it?

12. What kind of work would you most like to do right now?

a. How much per week would you expect to earn?

13. What kind of work would you most like to do at some time in the future?

a. How much would you expect to earn then?
b. What kind of additional training or experience do you feel you would have to get to prepare for this kind of job?

14. (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT) Here is a list of different things most people would like to have in a job. All of these would be nice to have, but I would like you to tell me which one is most important to you, which is next most important, and so on for the whole list. (PLACE A "1" IN FRONT OF THE CHARACTERISTIC THE RESPONDENT SAYS IS MOST IMPORTANT, A "2" IN FRONT OF THE SECOND MOST IMPORTANT, AND CONTINUE FOR ALL CHARACTERISTICS.)

Good working conditions, not too dirty, too hot, or too cold
Friendly co-workers, nice people to work with
A chance for advancement or promotion
Having a job that other people think is a good one
Security, being sure of regular work
Good pay, enough to afford a few extras
A supervisor who is easy to get along with
Work I enjoy doing, things to do that interest me

15. Would you say things are generally getting better____ or worse____ for you and your family? Could you tell me why you feel this way?

16. Now I'd like to read you seven statements and I'd like you to tell me whether you agree or disagree with each one. Don't spend too much time on any one; just tell me whether you think the statement is generally true or not.

    a. A person shouldn't hope for too much in this life.
    b. If a man can't better himself it is his own fault.
    c. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.
    d. Man shouldn't work too hard, for his fortune is in the hands of God.
    e. A person can get anything he wants if he is willing to work for it.
    f. A man shouldn't work too hard because it won't do him any good unless luck is with him.
    g. Good luck is more important than hard work for success.

17. Have you heard about the manpower program here in Columbus that is run by CMACAO?

    a. How do most people feel about it in general?
    b. If you needed a job do you think you would go there to look for one?
    c. Why not?

(ADMINISTER CARD SORT OF WORK ATTITUDE ITEMS. SAY TO RESPONDENT:) This is the last thing I would like you to do. On each of these cards there is a different statement about work. I would like you to look at each one and put it into one of five piles. (PLACE LABEL CARD FOR EACH PILE IN FRONT OF RESPONDENT.) In the first pile put the statements you strongly disagree with. In the second pile put the statements you disagree with. In the third pile put those statements on which you are undecided--you are not sure whether you agree or disagree. In the fourth pile put the statements with which you agree, and in the fifth pile put the statements with which you strongly agree. You can put as many cards as you wish into any of the five piles. Just try to put the card into the pile that best reflects your own feeling about the statement.

Interviewer Reaction Sheet

(To be completed by interviewer after the interview is completed.)

1. Rate how cooperative respondent seemed to you in interview.

2. Did you feel respondent was honestly trying to answer questions or just trying to get it over with?

3. How would you rate the respondent's overall attitude toward CEP?

4. How would you rate this respondent's overall attitude toward work?

5. Did you get the feeling that this respondent is mainly the kind of person who makes plans and carries them out or mainly the kind who lets his (or her) life be controlled by events?

6. How would you rate this respondent's overall attitude toward himself and his chances in life?

APPENDIX C-3

Supervisor Job Rating Questionnaire

(Listed below are the directions and items used to obtain ratings from the supervisors of former CEP participants. Following each item, in parentheses, are the labels that were used to anchor the ends and middle of the nine-point scale. The scales used to indicate response were four inches wide and divided into nine equal intervals.)

Directions: Please answer the questions in this booklet to describe the characteristics of the job that is (was) held by the worker named above and his (her) performance on this job. We would like your frank evaluation. Neither this worker nor anyone connected with your organization will ever see these ratings. They will be used by Penn State University for research purposes only. After each question there is a line which represents possible answers to the question. The line has the most favorable answer at one end and the least favorable answer at the other end. Please answer each question by putting a check (√) at the number on the line that best reflects your feelings about each question.

1. How hard is the physical work on this job? (very easy, not too hard, very hard)
2. How many of the things a worker learns on this job would be useful in other jobs? (none of them, some of them, all of them)
3. How much of the time on the job does this worker try to do his (her) very best work? (rarely, sometimes, frequently)
4. In general, how well do you feel this worker does his (her) job? (not very well, about average, very well)
5. Does this worker ever stay a little late to finish up a job even if he (she) is not paid for it? (rarely, sometimes, frequently)
6. Considering all the working conditions (light, temperature, noise, cleanliness), how nice are the conditions on this job? (very nice, about average, very bad)
7. How much control does this worker have over the speed or pace at which he (she) works? (no control, some control, complete control)
8. In comparison with other workers who do the same type of work, where would you rate this worker? (well below average, about average, well above average)
9. How well does this company treat workers on this job? (treats them poorly, treats them OK, treats them very well)

10. How helpful are the workers on this job in explaining things to new people? (not helpful, somewhat helpful, very helpful)

11. How well paid is this worker compared to other workers who do similar kinds of work? (paid worse, about average, paid better)

12. What do you think this worker's chances are of getting a better job with this company? (very little chance, some chance, very good chance)

13. How friendly are the workers on this job? (not friendly, somewhat friendly, very friendly)

14. Once a worker has a job with this company, how sure can he be that he will keep it? (not sure, somewhat sure, very sure)

15. How well do you and this worker get along? (do not get along, get along OK, get along very well)

16. How much of the time do you have to push this worker to work harder? (never, sometimes, all the time)

17. How closely do you have to watch this worker? (do not have to watch, watch sometimes, must watch closely)

18. How well does this worker understand when you explain things so that he (she) knows just what to do? (understands very poorly, understands OK, understands very well)

19. How often do you compliment this worker when he (she) has done a good job? (rarely, sometimes, frequently)

20. How much do you have to criticize this worker if he (she) is late or absent a day? (do not criticize, criticize somewhat, criticize very much)

21. In general, how well do you like this worker? (do not like, like somewhat, like very much)

When the former CEP participant named a co-worker, their supervisor was sent a questionnaire with these instructions: "In our study we are obtaining information not only from the former CEP participants but also from their co-workers so we can made some comparisons between them. The worker you have rated in this booklet named the person listed below as a co-worker. Would you please rate this individual also."

If the former participant did not name a co-worker, his supervisor was sent a questionnaire with these instructions: "We would like to ask a co-worker of the individual rated in this booklet some questions about this job. Could you give us the name and address of someone who does the same kind of work but who didn't go through CEP?"

Would you please rate this individual on the following scales:

1. How much of the time on the job does this worker try to do his (her) very best work? (rarely, sometimes, frequently)
2. In general, how well do you feel this worker does his (her) job? (not very well, about average, very well)
3. Does this worker ever stay a little late to finish up a job even if he (she) is not paid for it? (rarely, sometimes, frequently)
4. In comparison with other workers who do the same type of work, where would you rate this worker? (well below average, about average, well above average)
5. How well paid is this worker compared to other workers who do similar kinds of work? (paid worse, about average, paid better)
6. What do you think this worker's chances are of getting a better job with this company? (very little chance, some chance, very good chance)
7. How well do you and this worker get along? (do not get along, get along OK, get along very well)
8. How much of the time do you have to push this worker to work harder? (never, sometimes, all the time)
9. How closely do you have to watch this worker? (do not have to watch, watch sometimes, must watch closely)
10. How well does this worker understand when you explain things so that he (she) knows just what to do? (understands very poorly, understands OK, understands very well)
11. How often do you compliment this worker when he (she) has done a good job? (rarely, sometimes, frequently)
12. How much do you have to criticize this worker if he (she) is late or absent a day? (do not criticize, criticize somewhat, criticize very much.
13. In general, how well do you like this worker? (do not like, like somewhat, like very much)

APPENDIX C-4

Interview Schedule Used with Employers of Former CEP Participants

(Listed below are the main questions asked of respondents. The spaces for recording answers and some of the instructions to interviewers have been deleted.)

First, I would like to get a little background data on your company.

1. What are your main products or services?

2. Is this an independent company or a division of a larger company?
   a. Approximately how many employees does the total company have?

3. How many employees are there at this location?
   a. Approximately what percentage of the workers at this location are black?

4. In the past year has the number of your employees been increasing, decreasing, or staying about the same?

5. Did you have much difficulty recruiting suitable employees, other than CEP referrals, during the past year?

6. I would like you to use this card to answer the next questions. (GIVE CARD)

   (A card with the following items was presented to the respondent. Each item was followed by a nine-point rating scale which was anchored with the phrases in parentheses following the item.)

   a. How well paid does your average worker feel compared to other companies which do similar kinds of work? (paid worse, about average, paid better)
   b. How proud is the average worker to work for this company? (not proud, somewhat proud, very proud)
   c. Once he has a job with this company, how sure can the average worker be that he will keep it? (not sure, somewhat sure, very sure)

7. Do you have shift work?
   a. What are your regular shifts?

8. Before you cooperated with CEP did your firm ever participate in any similar programs?

   IF YES, ASK

   a. Which ones?

b. About how many people did you hire under the program(s)?
c. How would you evaluate the overall success of the program(s)?

9. Are you participating in any other retraining or job placement programs now:

IF YES OR PLANS TO, ASK

a. Which ones?
b. About how many employees are under these programs?

10. Could you tell me a little about your company's decision to cooperate with CEP? For example:

a. Who was involved in the decision?
b. Was there much debate over whether or not to participate?
c. What were some of the reasons that led your firm to take part?
d. When did you first list jobs with the CEP?

11. Are the employees you hire from CEP referrals in jobs covered by union contract?

IF YES OR SOME, ASK

a. Is there a probation period before new employees become members of the union? How long is the period?
b. Was the union involved in the decision to participate in CEP?

IF ANSWER TO B IS YES, ASK

c. At what stage was it brought in?
d. What was its reaction?

12. Before you became involved with CEP, what hiring standards did your company have for those jobs for which CEP referrals are now hired?

Did you require:
a. high school diploma
b. previous training or experience
c. qualification test(s)
d. health examination
e. check on police record
f. draft exemption
g. other (DESCRIBE)

13. Have you found it necessary to make any adjustments in your normal hiring standards in order to accept CEP referrals?

a. What adjustments have you made?

14. Does your company have any special program of orientation or training for the CEP referrals you hire?

No ___ (or Same as regular hire) a. In other words, you treat the CEP referrals the same as any new employee?

No ___ b. How do you treat them differently?

IF YES, ASK

c. Is the program conducted before the employee takes his regular job or after he has started?
d. Is it conducted on the job, away from the work site, or both?
e. Approximately how many hours per week are involved in the training?
f. How many weeks does it last?
g. What is covered in the program?
h. Who conducts the training? (PROBE: title, level, percentage of time devoted to training, decision-making authority)
i. Do you make an attempt to improve work habits or attitudes?
j. What methods do you use?

15. (IF "BUDDY SYSTEM" NOT MENTIONED) Do you have what some companies call a "buddy system" of assigning an experienced worker to help a new employee get acquainted with his job?

16. Do your first-line supervisors know which employees were referred by CEP?

IF YES OR SOME, ASK

a. How do they feel about the CEP referrals as workers?
b. Did you give your first-line supervisors any special training in ways to work with the people you hire through CEP referral?

IF THE ANSWER TO B IS YES, ASK

c. Was the training given before the first CEP referral was hired?
d. Is it currently being conducted?
e. How many hours does the training take?
f. Who conducts the training? (TITLE IN COMPANY)
g. What does the training consist of?

17. Do your rank-and-file employees know who was referred by CEP?

18. Has hiring CEP referrals caused any problems, such as complaints or incidents, among your regular employees?

IF YES, ASK

a. Could you describe what happened?
b. (IF UNION NOT MENTIONED) Has hiring CEP referrals caused any problems with your union?
    a. What problems?

19. Did you try to prepare your rank-and-file employees before you began hiring CEP referrals?

a. In what way?

20. Approximately how many CEP referrals have you hired in total?

21. How many referrals would you estimate you had to screen for each one you hired?

22. Approximately how many jobs in your company are currently filled by CEP referrals?

23. I would like to get some estimates of the turnover experience you have with CEP hires compared to your regular employees who are hired for the same kinds of jobs (INDICATE BASE, IF POSSIBLE):

    a. What percentage quit voluntarily?
    b. What percentage have to be discharged?
    c. Have you had to lay off any?

24. What are some of the main reasons why you have to discharge CEP hires?

25. Have you had to relax any of your normal standards regarding absenteeism, lateness, or production?

    IF YES, ASK

    a. Which ones have you had to relax?
    b. Has this caused any problem with your regular employees?

FOR THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

First, get list of jobs and duties of each one.
Second, get pay range of each.
Third, give respondent card and get ratings of characteristics of each.

26. What are the job titles and duties of the jobs that CEP referrals are usually hired for? (PROBE: machinery, costs of waste or breakdown, supervisor/employee ratio)

    (The respondent was presented a card with the following items. Each item was followed by a nine-point rating scale which was anchored with the phrases in parentheses following the item.)

    a. How hard is the physical work on this job? (very easy, not too hard, very hard)
    b. Considering all the working conditions (light, temperature, noise, cleanliness) how nice are the conditions on this job? (very nice, about average, very bad)
    c. How much control does a worker on this job have over the speed or pace at which he works? (no control, some control, complete control)
    d. How many of the things a worker learns on this job would be useful in other jobs? (none of them, some of them, all of them)
    e. What are the chances of the average worker on this job getting a better job with this company? (very little chance, some chance, very good chance)
    f. In comparison with other workers who do the same type of work, where would you rate the average CEP referral? (well below average, about average, well above average)

27. Was it necessary to change the nature of your jobs in any way to make it possible to hire CEP referrals?

    a. What kind of changes did you make?

28. Do the employees who were referred by CEP work mainly in a few areas, or are they scattered in the company?

29. Have you had any contacts with the CEP operation, other than listing jobs with them?

    IF YES, ASK

    a. What kinds of contacts?
    b. (IF NOT MENTIONED) Many of the CEP referrals have coaches who are supposed to help them get adjusted to the job. Have you had any contact with these coaches? Were they helpful?

30. Has CEP handled your job orders efficiently, or have there been mix-ups? (IF MIX-UPS) What kind?

31. Overall, how would you evaluate the operation and performance of CEP?

32. Do you think cooperating with the CEP has increased or decreased the costs of running your business?

    a. In what ways?

33. Do you anticipate any change in the number of employees you hire through CEP? (IF YES) What changes?

34. The federal government has a program called Job Opportunities in the Business Sector or JOBS, for short. Under this program an employer can be reimbursed for extra expenses associated with hiring and training the hard-core unemployed.

    a. Have you heard about this program?

        (IF NO) b. Do you think your company would be interested in taking part in this program? (IF NOT) Why not?

    IF YES, ASK

    c. Does your firm currently have any JOBS contracts?

        (IF NO) Why doesn't your company want to take part in JOBS?

        IF YES, ASK

        d. How many workers are under contract?
        e. Have you had any problems with the contract? (IF YES) What kind of problems?

(ADMINISTER CARD SORT OF WORK ITEMS. SAY TO RESPONDENT:) This is the last thing I would like you to do. This is a measure of attitudes toward work which we administer to the former CEP participants. We would like to get employers' reactions to see how much the CEP participants and their employers differ. On each of these cards there is a different statement about work. I would like you to look at each one and put it into one of five piles. (PLACE LABEL CARD FOR EACH PILE IN FRONT OF RESPONDENT.) In the first pile put the statements you strongly disagree with. In the second pile put the statements you disagree with. In the third pile put those statements on which you are undecided--you are not sure whether you agree or disagree. In the fourth pile put the statements with which you agree, and in the fifth pile put the statements with which you strongly agree. You can put as many cards as you wish into any of the five piles. Just try to put the card into the pile that best reflects your own feeling about the statement.

Interviewer Reaction

1. Respondent's overall attitude toward cooperation with CEP.

2. Respondent's overall attitude toward CEP referrals.

3. Company location is:

4. Approximate distance from middle of Model Neighborhood, Broad and Champion, to company location.
   a. Approximate amount of travel time from middle of Model Neighborhood to company location by private car.
   b. Is it possible to go from middle of Model Neighborhood to company location by public transportation?
   c. Approximate amount of travel time.
   d. Is it necessary to transfer? How often?
   e. How early and late do buses run?

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